1: Freeman
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/For information pertaining to the shifting cultivation of hill rice, see Category 116, the title page, pp. 21-23, 27-35, 39-71, 75-99, 109-10, 116-19, 127-37, 139-40, 144-46, and pp. 146 a, c, e, f, h, i, j, k./

1: Freeman E-5 (1949-1951)1955 OC6 Iban OC6

154. So the harvest continues until the reapers finally converge on that part of the farm where the sacred rices—the *padi sangking* and *padi pun*—are growing. Here the ritual of reaping reaches its climax. When the various *padi sangking* have been harvested and carefully placed in separate piles, all of the reapers foregather at the small plot of *padi pun*. With full ceremony, an offering (*piring*) containing eight eggs and all the other standard ingredients is performed; an egg is pierced and its contents wiped sacrificially on the *piring*; then, standing amid the *padi pun* the person conducting the ritual (usually it is the senior man of the *bilek* family), intones a long prayer summoning all the *padi* spirits to return and accompany the reapers back to their rightful abode. Circumspectly the sacrosanct *padi pun* is plucked panicle by panicle, placed in a reaping basket with its *piring*, and covered with a piece of bark-cloth. In most cases the return to the *dampa* is made without delay.[1] With the reaping basket slung over her shoulder, the bearer scatters behind her a trail of puffed rice (*rendai*) and as she makes her way homeward calls to the *padi* spirits—entreating and enticing them to accompany her:

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"Oh *padi* spirits, come follow, come follow, come all of you follow! Let this rice be the pathway you tread, the ladder you climb on returning. Oh do not digress or dally down by-ways! Come all of you follow! Come all of you follow!"

On arrival at the *dampa*, the entry of the bearer is celebrated with special ceremony. An ikat fabric (*pua kumbo*) is draped over the reaping basket, and over the *padi pun* a cock is waved in greeting and blessing; libations are poured and the *padi pun* carried to the *ruai* where an offering (a *piring*, with eight eggs) is laid out in readiness on a finely woven mat. When the offering has been made and the blood of a cock wiped on the reaping basket, a further prayer—in welcome and consecration—is uttered, and the *padi pun* is carefully put to one side to be prepared for final storing (*simpan*).

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[1] There are a number of different kinds of ritual associated with the reaping of *padi pun*, and all of these I hope to discuss in future publications. It may be of interest, however, to quote the *sampi* which I recorded on 5th May, 1950, at Rumah Nyala, when Kubu (of *bilek* family No. 21) summoned the *padi* spirits during the rites of reaping his *padi pun*. Standing amid his sacred *padi* he called to the *padi* spirits in these words:

"Hoy! Hoy! Hoy!
I call, I command,
I whistle, I bid you assemble,
I beckon, I summon you all;
I bring to you offerings, overflowing and full,
Offerings unstinted and ample.
From up river and down, from across and around:
Where are you? Where are you?
Come gather, come muster,
Come throng and come cluster.
Let those who are blind be led by the hand,
And let all be carried, who are crippled or lame.
All boys, all girls,
All fathers, all mothers,
All grandsires, all grandams,
All kith and kin of family and of tribe!
Wherever you are: be you fishing with rod, or with net, or with poisoned root;
Be you hunting, or setting your traps.
Come back! Come back!
To sleeping-place, to dwelling-place,
To fireside, and to mat;
To the bark-bin, your nest, your haven, your home.
Oh, all of you, all of you:
Come leap on the basket I bear on my back!
Come one, come all,
Let none be left behind.
Come all of you! Come all of you!"

2: Howell M-5 (ca. 1908) 1908-1910
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No. X.—Dyak custom when commencing a paddy farm.

By the Revd. Wm. Howell.

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●243 Although the Dyaks know little about the stars, yet they have learnt sufficient to enable them to know when to begin to clear the jungle for the paddy farm and when to sow the seed.

When the Pleiades *(bintang banyak)* are seen in the horizon before daylight they begin to look for favourable omens, then commence clearing the jungle. Besides the Pleiades they also use the three stars *(bintang tiga.)* The clearing season is on the fifth month when the Pleiades as stated are seen in the horizon before daylight.

When the Pleiades have risen up to the centre of the heavens it is said to be the eighth month, and the sowing season commences.

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773 The Dyaks affirm that their knowledge of these stars was handed down to them from the following story:—

Once upon a time there lived in a far country a family which consisted only of three, the husband, wife, and daughter. When the daughter had attained the age of puberty she began to feel greatly her solitary life. One day she told her mother that her existence was only a burden to her, and every time she watched the stars she said how she wished she could marry one of them, for they were so brilliant.

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821 539 773 up to the middle of the heavens, begin to sow your paddy seed. If you fail to obey my injunction your paddy will yield no fruits, or will be exposed to destruction by insects of various kinds. Although you cannot touch me yet you and your great-grand-children's great-grand-children's children from now and for ever shall always see me." In the midst of crying and lamentation the two young men departed.

243 774 The cultivation of paddy with the Dyaks is considered to be a sacred duty, and must necessarily be performed with favourable omens. Their ancestors have handed down to them a convincing tradition that the paddy has a soul, and that it was a sacred personage metamorphosed into paddy for the sustenance of mankind. In view of this the Dyaks pay due respect to it, and the spot for it's cultivation must be divined by good omens to ascertain it's approval. It is further assumed by them that the success of farming depends on the paddy yielding plentifully or not. For negligence to the sacredness of it's personage and the imperative warning of the gods through an ill omen or a bad vision, either sickness or death is the condign punishment. The almost incalculable ceremonies in farming with the Dyaks are to deprecate every appearance of danger, and therefore respite in the work of the farm is not taken into consideration. To have a good crop of paddy, to shield against the King of Terror and sickness is the earnest orison of every Dyak living.

622 787 It is not unusual with barbarians that the secular and religious offices are the prerogative of a chief, and this is the case with Dyaks.

243 The chief goes out every day to look for favourable omens. There are eleven of these omens which are considered to be essential, and therefore he has to go out for eleven days, as he is only permitted to get one good omen a day. Every day as he hears a good omen he picks up a piece of twig and takes it home and puts it by carefully. This proceeding is called *beburong ka umai* or to augur for favourable omens for the paddy farm.

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243 The eleven pieces of twigs are called *kayu burong* and are taken to the jungle where the paddy farm is going to be, pieces of them are buried in the ground, and preliminary clearing is begun at once for three days, then the actual work commences which lasts the whole day. The preliminary clearing must not exceed seven times in cutting the jungle with the chopper, either with the eyes wide open or shut. This preliminary work is called *manggol*.

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825 If by accident a person wounds an earth worm or a snake in doing the preliminary clearing, it is considered a calamity and the ceremony of *beburong* or to augur for favourable omens is abolished and a fresh start must be made to propitiate the land with rice cooked in bamboos. Even if the whetstone is visited by white ants or any kind of ants during the time the preliminary work is going on the land for the paddy farm must be abandoned.

Such bad omens as wounding a worm, a snake, or the whetstone visited by white ants or any ant, prognosticate serious illness or death.

Whilst clearing the jungle after the preliminary work, if an old honeycomb is found an offering is made to it for it is considered that it portends a good year of paddy to come.

The following are the omens used when commencing a paddy farm:—

Nendak (Cittocincla suavis), *Katupong (Sasia abnormis)*, *Beragai (Trogons)*, *Papau (Dendrocitta)*, *Membuas (Carcinentes Melanops)*, *Pangkas (Lepocestes porphyromelas)*, *Bejampong (Hydrocichla frontalis)*, *Kutok* or *Pangkas*, only that it gives a different note, *puchok* (a species of tree lizard,) *sandah* (a bat,) and *empitu* (a quail).

2: Howell M-5 (ca. 1908) 1908-1910
OC6 Iban OC6

No. XII.—"Nyinklan Benih," or The Ceremony of touching the paddi seeds with blood.

By the Revd. Wm. Howell.

243 To avoid incurring the displeasure of the gods and especially *Pulang Gana* it is considered necessary by Dyaks, in compliance with the traditions of their forefathers, that, previous to clearing the jungle for their paddy farms, *Pulang Gana* must first be approached with an offering. To render the seeds acceptable and to ask his blessing upon them, the blood of a sacrificed pig must be smeared on them.

After the farm is burnt, previous to sowing the seed, a council is convened to discuss the feast that is to be given. Friends from far and near are invited to celebrate the occasion.

The chief of the house or village, owing to his rank, occupies a prominent place on this occasion. His covered verandah *(ruai)* is decorated, a basket *(sintong)* is placed in the centre and in it an offering to *Pulang Gana* and *Ini Andan* is placed. Everybody in the village or house puts a handful of his seed into the *sintong*, and with it his paddy charms wrapped up in pieces of old cloth. The *sintong* is carefully covered with home-made blankets *(pua)*.

After dinner an able man is asked to intone a fable in the choicest words of their poetry to invoke

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●243 the presence of *Pulang Gana* and *Ini Andan* at the feast which is given in their honour. The intoner also sings praises to the seed and personifies them. The whole night is spent in listening to the intoner. Before he introduces his mythological poetry a pig is first killed, and it's blood is smeared on the *sintong* in which the offering, seed and charms are put. The intoner performs his duties for a consideration.

At dawn the *sintong* is taken to the farm and is placed on a raised platform *(plasar)*. An offering with flags is suspended on the platform and the mythologist begins the preliminary sowing round the platform so as to surround the *sintong* by making about thirty or forty holes, then his duty is completed. The seed cannot be touched by anybody before he has performed the preliminary sowing.

The general sowing then begins, but at the outset is only done twice up and down the farm, then the people rest for refreshments. After the refreshments the sowing is resumed even in spite of ill omens. It is only prohibited that the sowing should be prolonged till dusk for fear of the *ensiring* omen (a species of grasshopper).

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If the *ensiring* omen is heard during sowing every body makes for a billian trunk or any piece of billian for refuge. If there be no billian of any description in the farm all the women make for the men's dibbles and cling there for refuge. Everybody remains still in the position he or she is in until relieved by a sacrificed pig which dies a victim for all.

The *ensiring* omen is deemed by Dyaks as portent. It prognosticates the terrible event of the speedy approach of the King of Terror. Sometimes they take refuge for hours before they dare move. They have to wait patiently for a passer-by to send their message home for a pig. The pig is killed, the blood is smeared on the forehead of everybody, then all are relieved or rather saved from impending death.

As soon as everybody is relieved by the sacrificed pig, the sowing is resumed. After the sowing has been going on for some little time, the *ensiring* omen is no longer portent.

Before everybody has arrived at the farm all bad omens are considered portent, but after their arrival at the farm no omens need be attended to. When it is portent the sowing is to be postponed for that day. The bad omens that are considered portent before the arrival of everybody at the farm are called the omens *kekepak*, and the bad omens that are not deemed portent after the arrival of everybody at the farm are called the omen *truni*.

2: Howell M-5 (ca. 1908) 1908-1910
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No. XIII.—The preliminary ceremony of reaping the paddy: and "Nyimpan padi." or the ceremony of putting by paddy.

By the Revd. Wm. Howell.

243 In compliance with the traditions of their forefathers the preliminary ceremony of reaping the paddy is strictly observed to avoid the displeasure of the gods and to pay due respect to the paddy itself.

The ceremony takes place only when the moon is on the increase. It is hoped that this ceremony will cause the paddy to increase in quantity as the moon increases in size.

There is no feast given at this ceremony, but the procedure is for everybody to go to his farm the first thing in the morning before breakfast and to take a live fowl or an egg with him.

When the farm is reached the ceremony can be performed in two ways, depending entirely on the wish of every individual person. The following will elucidate it.

I.—Immediately the farm is reached the person makes for the spot *(panggal benih)* where the paddy seeds were placed during the sowing time. He binds up together seven paddy stems *(langkai)* and waves a live fowl or an egg over them. The fowl is killed or the egg is broken, and the blood is smeared on the ears of the paddy. He then reaps seven ears of paddy, puts them in his basket *(sintong)* and returns home.

II.—When the farm is reached the person goes to seven corners of it, and out of each corner he reaps an ear of paddy. He waves the seven ears of paddy with a live fowl or an egg. The fowl is killed or the egg is broken and the blood is smeared on the ears. He puts the ears of paddy in his basket *(sintong)* and goes home.

243 774 It is believed by Dyaks that the paddy has a soul. Any ceremony that is performed over it, nourishes it, and enables it to live. It is also believed that if due respect is given it, it will always increase in quantity.

[p. 43]

243 The paddy ears that are taken home are hung up in the house. Towards the end of the harvest when the paddy for planting is gathered, the seven ears that are hung up are mixed with it.

243 622 It is owing to the negligence of the chief of a house or village if the ceremony of putting by paddy *(Nyimpan padi)* is not stringently observed. In view of the ceremony of the preliminary reaping of paddy, this ceremony must necessarily follow to complete the duty of a devout Dyak.

The chief of a house or village assembles his followers on an evening in the verandah *(ruai)* of his house. Mats are spread, chewing ingredients are plentiful, and toddy *(tuak)* is distributed. He opens the meeting by reminding them that the harvest is over and the farming season will begin in three months' time. He, moreover, reminds them of the final duty to the paddy in view of the tradition of their forefathers to put it by ceremoniously. If the meeting is unanimous the day is fixed for the ceremony to take place.

243 Friends are invited to the feast and the ceremony commences the first thing in the morning. Everybody goes up to the garret and takes a fowl that is killed with him. He waves the carcase of the fowl on the paddy bins, etc., and smears them with it's blood. All the implements for farming, such as the whetstones, axes, choppers, etc., are placed in a winnowing basket *(chapan)* and an offering is made to them. Offerings also are given to the paddy bins, and bottles filled with toddy are tied to them. The paddy then is taken up to the garret to be put by.

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243 273 The putting by of the paddy is a hard morning's work. Friends are invited to assist. After the work is over everybody sits down to a good breakfast. Toddy is liberally distributed, and the day generally ends in drunkenness.

243 774 The Dyaks believe that the implements for farming and the paddy bins can eat and drink, they are therefore personified by them.

243 789 A great many ceremonies are performed on the paddy bins after the paddy is stored in them. Charms of various kinds are placed on the paddy which are known as medicines to cause the paddy to increase in the bins. To some of these charms offerings are given.

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2: Howell M-5 (ca. 1908) 1908-1910
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No. XIV.—"Bemali umai" or to pronounce a paddy farm Tabooed.

By the Revd. Wm. Howell.

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When the paddy is diseased or attacked by bugs, etc., it is essential, according to Dyak traditions, that some sort of ceremony should be performed in the farm to check further detrimental progress.

The ceremony depends entirely on the state of the paddy. There are various kinds of ceremonies in use and I shall comment upon them from the least to the greatest under the following heads:—

I.—When the paddy is slightly damaged an egg is taken to the farm. It is broken, waved about the farm, and simultaneously a prayer is said to petition the spirits of the rats, bugs, etc., to quit the farm, and then the egg is either buried or left in the farm. The farm is pronounced tabooed for the space of twenty-four hours. Any person who trespasses into the farm before the expiration of the time fixed is liable to pay compensation for the egg that is used for the ceremony.

II.—If the paddy is more than slightly damaged a fowl is killed in the farm and waved all about there. A wing is hung in the farm and the rest of the carcase is taken home and eaten. The farm is pronounced tabooed for the space of twenty-four hours also. Any person who trespasses into it before the termination of the time fixed incurs a fine of one fowl to allow of the ceremony being renewed.

III.—When the damage to the paddy is serious and is either local or universal a pig is taken to the farm and killed there. It's blood is smeared on the paddy and the carcase thrown away. With the pig two offerings are offered, one to *Pulang Gana* and the other to the omen birds. The pig and the other

2: Howell M-5 (ca. 1908) 1908-1910
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offering which is for *Pulang Gana* are buried in the ground. The offering for the omen birds is placed on a raised platform about six or seven feet high. A prayer is said to petition the spirits of the rats, bugs, etc., to quit the farm. (Sometimes two or three pigs are killed for propitiation.) The farm is pronounced tabooed for three days and three nights. Anybody who trespasses into the farm before the expiration of the time fixed is liable to pay compensation in order to renew the propitiation. The restriction goes further still, that the owners of the farms are not allowed to quit their house for three days and three nights.

IV.—When the damage done to the paddy is not only universal but continues to be very serious, the above ceremonies performed take no effect, and the rats, bugs, etc., continue their destruction without cessation, a meeting is forthwith held to make a little ship equipped with it's masts, sails, guns, etc., to banish the destroying insects from the country. A few of each kind of the insects are shipped on board. Provisions, chewing ingredients and utensils for cooking, etc., are given them. An offering also is put on board with a live fowl. The ship is set adrift, and at the same time the following petition is rehearsed loudly and solemnly:—

> "Depart ye to Brune, to Santubong, to Limbang, to Sarawak, to Pontianak, to Danau, to Salimban, to Bram, to Sandakan. Tarry not, neither disperse. Be together and keep in your company. Return ye to the country of your fathers, your mothers, your grandfathers and your grandmothers. We have given you an offering and provisions."

After the ship is set adrift everybody returns home and the road and farm are pronounced tabooed for three or seven days and nights. The owners of the farm are not allowed to quit their house according to the time the road and farm are pronounced tabooed. Anybody who trespasses into the road or farm before the termination of the time fixed has to bear part the expenditure.

[p.47]

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V.—When the damage to the paddy is not only very serious and universal but a severe famine is prophesied to be inevitable, a meeting is promptly convened to make the biggest propitiation to the gods. It is therefore essential to carve out of the earth on a selected spot a male a female, and a young crocodile. They are fenced round, and every family hangs on the fence a basket. The baskets hung are not to be of one kind. After an offering is hung pigs are killed, and every family takes a little of the blood, which is taken to the farm and smeared on the paddy. The road and the farm are pronounced tabooed for the space of either three or seven days and nights. The owners of the farm are bound by such restriction and are not permitted to quit their house. Purity is to be strictly respected not only between bachelors and maidens but also between husbands and wives. Husbands are not allowed to sleep in the same room with their wives. The number of pigs that are killed for the ceremony varies from seven to eight.

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After the pigs are killed, war-cries are uttered, and a prayer is said to petition the alligators to consume all the destroying insects, including rats, and bugs.

[688] Anybody who trepasses into the road, house, or farm, is liable to repay all expenses to allow of the ceremony to be renewed.

After the expiration of the time fixed, very early in the morning two distinguished men equipped and armed with spears, shields, etc., set out to the locality where the crocodiles are, attack them from a distance, and at the same time yell out their war-cry for a signal that the road, farm, and house, are no longer tabooed.

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3: Low G-5 (1844-1847) 1848
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their ignorant minds immediately to attribute to superhuman influence, the results which the most common prudence must foresee will attend their opposing the regular force of a civilized enemy. The cognomen of this chief, Gila Beranhi, may be literally translated, "the madly brave," in allusion to the ferocious courage displayed in his wars with the enemies of his tribe.

Though agriculture is so generally practised by the Dyaks, they have not made in it so much progress as, from its necessity to their existence, might have been expected. The cause of their never having attained to greater perfection in this art is probably to be found in the immense productiveness of the soil they cultivate, which, with little care beyond the planting of the seed, yields such heavy crops, that the most moderate skill and attention are repaid so amply, that the inducements to improvement, which excite more civilized, but less favoured nations, have no existence here.

In July and August the Dyak, having previously fixed upon a spot convenient for a farm, begins the labour of felling the forests; in this he is assisted by the females of his family, who clear away the brushwood; slaves and male children fell the larger trees. The extent cultivated by each head of a family depends upon his industry, and the wants of his household: an industrious person always prepares more than will be necessary for the supply of his household, so that, with the surplus, he

3: Low G-5 (1844 1847) 1848
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243 may be enabled to buy little luxuries for himself, and brass wire, &c., for his daughters and children, from the Malays, who always come to the villages to trade when the harvest has been gathered in. Having felled as much forest as he thinks sufficient for his purpose, which—considering the only instrument they employ is the 'biliong,' or small chopper of theMalays—is accomplished with astonishing quickness, the fallen giants of the jungle are allowed to remain prostrate, until a succession of dry days has so parched them, that, being set on fire in several places on the windward side of the field when a fresh breeze is blowing, the whole is, in a few hours, consumed with a flame, and smoke, and crackling noise, which, at a distance, is awfully beautiful, and the sublime appearance of which, when many farms are thus burning together, can scarcely be conceived: the heavy dark cloud which hangs over the country, caused by the smoke, for many miles previously to the ascent of the flames, has frequently been mistaken for one of the thunder clouds which are seen to gather, of this solid and black appearance, only in tropical countries. So great is the resemblance, that persons accustomed to the appearance have frequently remained undeceived, until a gust of wind carried the bright flames high above the intervening jungle, and displayed to the spectator a scene of the most majestic beauty, which certainly equals, and probably surpasses, the burning of the grass on the plains of North America.

3: Low G-5 (1844-1847) 1848
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When the fire has exhausted itself, and the ground is again cool, which, from the frequency of rain, is soon the case, the Dyaks collect, from the black and charred trunks of the trees, the smaller ones suited to the purpose, and commence making their 'pagar,' or fence, for the protection of the future crop against the inroads of the deer and wild hogs, which would soon injure and destroy it. The method generally used in constructing this fence, is by raising one pole above another, horizontally, and sustaining them in this position by stakes driven into the ground, at an angle, and opposite to each other, so that the bar rests upon the crutch formed by their crossing each other. The pagars, or fences, are about six feet high, and the bars about fifteen inches one above the other; they are strong enough to resist the encroachments of wild animals for one season: for more they are not required, being then split up, and used in the houses for fire-wood.

In parts of the country more populous than others, it frequently happens that the Dyaks have not, in their territory, old jungle; or it is at such a distance from their houses, that the labour of carrying the produce to them would be very oppressive in a country where the services of no domestic animal are available for this purpose. Such situations are not so laborious to prepare, but being destitute of that rich layer of vegetable mould, and the fertilizing properties of the burnt wood, are not nearly so productive. The pagars of these farms, in which bamboo

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always abounds, are frequently made of this light and easily worked material, the ends being stuck into the ground, and supported by cross bars, which run along the whole length of the fence, and to which the perpendicular stakes are attached by lashings of rattan, or other suitable substance. The burning being finished, and the pagar made, though this latter operation is frequently delayed until the seed has sprung up, no other preparation of the ground is deemed necessary. The plough, and other instruments for turning up the soil, the inventions of nations more advanced in the art, are to them unknown; but if the former were introduced, it would be useless in many places, as the sides of steep hills are frequently chosen for the farm; and, in all cases, it would be unavailable while the natives continued to leave their fields after but one year's cultivation, as the labour of removing the trunks of the large trees, which are now allowed to decay in the field, fertilizing it as they crumble into earth, would not be compensated by the produce of the ground they occupy, if the field were not cultivated for a succession of seasons.

The padi seed, which is saved with the greatest care from the choicest of the preceding season, is planted in holes, made by a blunt-pointed stick, at the distance of from fifteen to eighteen inches apart every way. Three or four seeds are dropped into each hole by the women and children, who cover them by scraping a little earth or ashes over them with their feet. 'Jagong,' or

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Indian corn, or maize, as it is frequently called in Europe, is planted sparingly at the same time; and as it is ripe and off the ground in three months from the time of sowing, it does not injure the padi, amongst the rows of which it is sown; and as it comes in at a season when the rice is getting exhausted, and the second crop not ready, it is of great use to the Dyaks, though not so much esteemed as rice as an article of food. On the larger collections of ashes they also sow the seeds of gourds, pumpkins, a kind of melon without flavour, and cucumbers, of which they are very fond. These trail along the ground amongst the stems of the padi, to which they appear to do no injury, and continue bearing for some time after the rice crop has been gathered in.

After the field has been all planted, the Dyak and his family occupy themselves in building a hut on some elevated position in the field, for the convenience of being able to reside at it constantly during the periods when it most requires their care, and for storing the harvest when ripe from the rain, until they can carry it to their granaries, which are generally near, but apart from the houses of the village. The 'dañgau,' as this hut is called, is always upon posts, and with a raised but not covered platform before it, for the convenience of drying the padi before it is placed in the baskets in which it is to be conveyed to the granary. During its growth the field is always weeded twice: this, as they are assisted by no tools, with the exception of their parang,

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243 is a very toilsome occupation, which is always carefully accomplished by the industry of the Dyak, as the rapid growth of the weeds would soon spoil his crop, and render unavailing all the labour his farm had previously cost him.

About March or April, or from six to seven months after the period of its sowing, the padi puts on the beautiful appearance which informs the delighted husbandman of the approach of the reward of his labours. At this season the field of the Dyak presents a more lovely picture to the eye than the farms of Europe. The yellow padi is everywhere [244] relieved by the gaudy flowers of the bayam, a kind of vegetable, which resembles the Amaranthus, or prince's feather of our gardens, and its large tufts of orange and crimson enhance the beauty of the pleasing scene. As the heads of padi seldom all ripen together, or so regularly as the ears of other grain in England, no sickle is used in reaping, nor are the stalks bound into bundles. Every person in the family of the Dyak, armed with his or her basket and knife, is employed in going regularly over the field, and taking off all the ripe heads, with but a few inches of the straw, the bulk of which is left standing on the ground, where it decays, and nourishes the earth which produced it. Each person, when the basket is full, carries it to the dañgan, where it is rubbed from the ear, frequently by the hands; but this irksome method is, by those who have large farms, avoided by a sieve which they erect outside the hut,

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with split rattans fastened into a frame-work, and supported by four posts, over which also the roof is extended: a mat is placed under the sieve, and the heads of padi, being put into it above, are worked backwards and forwards over the fine rattans of the sieve with a wooden instrument which they have for the purpose, until the padi, being freed from the stalks, falls into the receptacle below, whence it is taken, and being well dried in the sun, is finally conveyed to the granary of the family, until wanted for the purposes of trade and of home consumption.

Every year the series of operations above detailed is repeated; the soil, perhaps, being exhausted by the enormous crop it sometimes produces in favourable seasons. Last year was one of those, and I saw hundreds of acres of padi which had fallen to the ground for want of hands to gather it; the crop having been so much larger than the Dyaks, who generally calculate these matters very shrewdly, and plant no more than their own family can conveniently manage, had anticipated. The Dyaks themselves, however, do not suppose that the soil is in any way incapable of bearing further culture; but give always as a reason for deserting their farms, that the weeds and grass which immediately spring up after the padi has been gathered, are less easily eradicated, than ground occupied by old jungle is prepared. They never return to the same spot until after a period of seven years has elapsed, which they say was the custom of their an-

3: Low G-5 (1844 1847) 1848
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cestors; and then they find that the trees, which have, during that time, covered the ground, to the destruction of the deleterious lalang grass and other weeds, are easily felled, and the ground prepared; though, as has been before noticed, the crops from such land are not so abundant as those from the 'utan tuah,' or old forest, which in consequence is, notwithstanding the greater proportionate amount of labour requisite to bring it under cultivation, always, when procurable, preferred.

It will be seen from the above statement that the farms of the Dyaks are prepared towards the end of the dry season, so that they have the wet monsoon to bring the padi to maturity, and the beginning of the following fine weather, April and May, to ripen the grain. Some tribes have a succession of farms coming in a few weeks later than each other, but never more than three. The hill Dyaks seldom plant their farms till a month or two later than the sea tribes, who consequently have the first of the market; new rice always selling for a higher price than the old, the former being esteemed sweeter and more nourishing by the Malays, who are the purchasers.

From the mode of pounding the padi in mortars, to free it from the husk, adopted by the Dyaks and Malays, none of the rice, the produce of the island, can be kept for any length of time: the grains being broken, and the enamel which protects them from the wevil being destroyed, that insect soon takes advantage of the circumstance to attack and destroy it; in the

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marked tendency among the tribes to demand a heavier rent—in fact several dollars a year. The tenure, too, has been modified within late years in view of the increasing demand for accommodation, and it is now generally understood that when the proprietor chooses to leave the district and remove into a distant country he forfeits, by so doing, all title to the ground and can no longer exact rent.

Agriculture with the Sea Dyaks is in a very backward condition, but they contrast very favourably with the Malay population in the vicinity. Neither use the plough nor buffalo, but the former cultivate on a more extensive scale and with a more provident idea. They grow, both individually and collectively, far more than they require for their own consumption, and with the residue they purchase necessaries, such as salt, steel, iron, and luxuries, such as personal ornaments, for their families. If the harvest has been really plentiful they are even able to afford to purchase gongs and toddy, and perhaps a jar or two.

As a rule they prefer to cultivate hilly soil, but some few have learnt to utilize the wet land. Their farming operations are regulated by the position in the heavens of the Seven Stars of the Pleiades. They commence business towards the end of the dry season, July and August, so that they have the wet monsoon to bring the paddy to maturity, and the beginning of the following fine weather, April and May, to ripen the grain.

The old jungle is called *kampong*, and the new is called *temuda*. The Dyaks prefer infinitely to farm the former whenever it is to be obtained within reasonable distance of the village, and when it is getting scarce in their immediate neighbourhood they shift their residence nearer to it. In parts of the country more populous than others, it frequently happens that the Dyaks have not in their territory any old jungle; such situations are not so laborious to prepare, but being destitute of the rich layer of vegetable mould and the fertilizing properties of burnt wood, are not nearly so productive. After having felled the old jungle and farmed on it once, they leave it for seven years to grow up again and are then ready to use it a second time. The first year's growth is called *kruaoh*.

When it is intended to open out new country, the first thing to be done is for every family to select an eligible piece of forest land and to mark out the quantity they wish to cultivate. The next step is to *beburong*, that is to say to consult the omen birds of the tribe to learn whether or no they approve of this choice. For this purpose they erect a hut first in one quarter then in another of the land in question, and wait upon the birds for

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243 three days in succession until they hear either a note of warning
787 to keep away from it, or a note of encouragement to remain on
it. If the auguries are favourable they proceed to denude the
313 land of its forest. Both sexes share in this labour; the women
and boys clear away the undergrowth and the men fell the
trees. Much valuable timber is then destroyed, as they spare
[222] only such fruit trees as are in full bearing, and those upon
which the bees settle and from which they expect to be able to
gather wild honey. As some of the trees are of enormous
girth being furnished with buttresses, they do not always fell
them at the base, but more often some distance up the trunk;
others they leave standing altogether, merely lopping off the
boughs to feed the fire which is afterwards to lay bare the ground
and manure the soil.

243 When the land has been fully cleared it is left to dry. Sun
313 and wind are now of almost vital consequence to the Dyaks,
372 for if they are unable to thoroughly burn this immense mass of
timber, famine stares them in the face for the year to come. If
783 it pour with rain day after day and week after week, and there
784 is no promise of continued fine weather, they are apt to imagine
that some impurity has defiled the tribe and that the face of the
Great Spirit is hid from them. So the elders of the people get
to work to find it out, and adjudicate on all cases of incest and
bigamy, and purify the earth with the blood of pigs. Prayers
are offered to *Betara* from one end of the country to the other;
for the space of three days the villages are tabued, and all
labour is discontinued; the inhabitants remain at home, and
strangers are not admitted. But if the weather is warm and
dry the farms are ready in a very few days for the burning. They
are set on fire from the windward side when the breeze is blow-
ing, and soon the entire mass is seething with flames. It is a
magnificent spectacle to behold when several of these farms are
ablaze at once, and the hills are flaring like volcanoes. The
heat at this season caused by the universal burning is almost
insupportable; for days not a glimpse is to be caught of the
blue sky overhead; the smoke hangs over the country like
a heavy cloud, and the sun glows through the fog like a globe
of molten copper.

243 When the fire has exhausted itself and the ground is again cool,
which it soon is from the frequency of rain in this country, they
commence to sow the seed. The men traverse the farm with
dibblers in their hands and dibble the ground; the women follow
and drop in the paddy seed and cover up the holes by scraping
earth into them with their feet. Indian corn (*lingkau*) is planted
sparingly at the same time; and as it is ripe and off the ground
within three months from the date of the sowing, it does not

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243 injure the paddy, amongst the rows of which it is sown; and as it comes in at a season when the rice with some is getting exhausted, and the second crop is not ready, it is of great use to the Dyaks, though not so much esteemed as rice as an article
[244] of food. On the larger collection of ashes they also sow the seeds of gourds (*gerrok*), pumpkins (*entekai*), a kind of melon without flavour (*junggat*, *kundu*), and cucumbers (*rampu*), of which they are very fond. These trail along the ground amongst the stems of the paddy, to which they appear to do no injury, and continue bearing for some time after the rice-crop has been gathered in. A small quantity of *pulut* is also grown by every family. It is a fine strong growing kind of paddy, but when cleaned and boiled is of a peculiar clammy nature.
[252] It bears a higher price than any other kind in the market, and is always eaten by the Dyaks cooked in green bamboos, as it is thought that the ordinary metal cooking pot spoils the flavour. The farm is tabued during the *tugal*.

[417] After the seed has been sown, it is the business of the men to plant a fence (*raja*) round the farm to protect it from the inroads of wild animals such as pig and deer; this should not occupy much time, as the material is ready to hand, having been collected for the purpose previous to the burning, from the *débris* scattered on the ground.

There are many things which sorely try the patience of the Dyaks as they watch with unflagging interest the growth of their crops. It is true the pigs and deer are excluded by means of the wooden fence, but nothing short of the most untiring vigilance, and not always even that, can keep out the numerous climbing and winged pests, such as monkeys, squirrels, rats, and sparrows, some of which are sure to visit the farm as
[782] the paddy is ripening. Their sole remedy, such as it is, is to give a feast and propitiate the spirits in the usual manner. A miniature junk is built and filled with delicate morsels, the plagues are then besought to embark for some other country, and the toy is set adrift to float out to sea with the outward tide.
[784] During this ceremony the village is tabued for seven days in the same manner as is done when the purification for burning is performed.

342 The next thing is to build a *langkau* or farm house on some commanding or central situation where the family may reside without inconvenience off and on or altogether just as they please until the harvest is over. They have still weary duties
462 to perform before they can hope to reap the fruit of their toil; but it too often happens that these are left to the women and children, while the able-bodied men seek other and more congenial occupation, *i.e.*, either follow a war-path, or journey

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462 into the far interior, or plunge into the jungle in quest of its produce.

243 137 177 As a rule the women have to do all the weeding (*mantun*) by themselves; this is a very laborious task, as the weeds grow so rapidly as to threaten to choke the paddy unless promptly removed. Another grievance is the grass, originally called *rumput teki*, but since nicknamed *rumput blanda*, and which they declare was introduced by the whites to feed their cattle on. It is now a proverbial saying with them that it is impossible to get rid of this grass, likewise is it unprofitable to shake off the rule of the white man.

243 784 [688] As the paddy begins to ripen, the men return to their homes and the families remove entirely to their farms, where there is plenty to do to scare away the birds and other pests and to prepare for the harvest. The paths intersecting the farm are closed at this season, and no one can traverse them without paying a penalty or sin-offering of a fowl and a bit of iron. Those who may be suffering from positive want, having exhausted their last year's stock, now glean of the half ripe paddy as much as they require for their immediate necessities; this is called *ñumbar*.

243 251 415 [313] But when the paddy is fully ripe they all turn out, men and women, boys and girls, with knives and baskets and pluck the ripe ears with a few inches of stalk; these are then carried home and put out to dry, after which they are thrown into an enormous sieve suspended from the roof of the house, and threshed by the action of the feet, the grains falling through on to a mat placed underneath on purpose to receive them. After thorough drying in the sun, they are put in tubs made of bark (*tibang*) and stowed away in the loft or else housed in a hut, built on purpose for them hard by the village, the posts of which are furnished with wooden discs immediately below the flooring to prevent the rats from entering. The Dyak method of pounding the paddy to free it from the husk by means of pestle and mortar is injurious to the grain. By it the hard outer skin which protects it from the weevil is broken and this insect soon takes advantage of the circumstance to attack and destroy it. In the husk or paddy state the rice can be kept for years without injury.

000 The Punans and Kajamans farm meagrely; they prefer the sago to rice and grow the palm.

2. *Habitations.*

361 A Sea Dyak village is a terrace upon posts varying in length according to the number of houses of which it is composed, and

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●243 Both men and women are industrious and hard-working. With regard to the paddy-planting on the hills, the work is divided between the men and women in the following manner. The men cut down the jungle where the paddy is to be planted. When the timber and shrubs have been burnt, the men and women plant the grain. The roots of the trees are left in the ground. The men walk in front, with a long heavy staff in the right hand of each, and make holes in the ground about a foot apart. The women walk behind them and throw a few grains of seed in each hole.

When the paddy has grown a little, the ground has to be carefully weeded; this work is done by the women. When the crop is ripe, both men and women do the reaping. They walk between the rows of standing grain, and with a sharp, oddly-shaped little knife they cut off the heads one by one, and place them in their baskets, which are tied in front of them. The carrying home of [482] the paddy thus reaped is mostly done by the men, who can carry very heavy loads on their backs, though the women help in this to some extent. The next thing is to separate the grain from the little tiny stems to which it is still attached. This is done by the men. The grain is put on a large square sieve of rattan fixed between four posts in the veranda of the Dyak house, and the men tread on it and press it through the sieve. The paddy [257] that falls through is taken and stored in the loft in large round bins made of bark.

252 When rice is wanted for food, the paddy is dried, and then pounded by the women in wooden mortars, with pestles five feet long. As a rule two or three women each use their pestles at one mortar, which is cut out of the trunk of a tree. I have seen as many as six girls using

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Kutok, *Embuas*, *Nendak*, *Papau*, and *Bejampong*. They are beautiful in plumage, but, like most tropical birds, they have little song, and their calls are shrill and piercing. They are supposed to be manifestations of the seven spirit sons of the great god Singalang Burong (see the "Story of Siu," p. 278).

The system, as carried out by the Dyaks, is most elaborate and complicated, and the younger men have constantly to ask the older ones how to act in unexpected combinations of apparently contradictory omens. The law and observance of omens occupy a greater share of the thoughts of the Dyak than any other part of his religion.

It is not only to the cry of birds that the Dyaks pay heed. There are certain animals—the deer, the armadillo, the lizard, the bat, the python, the cobra, even the rat, as well as certain insects—which all may give omens under special circumstances. But these other creatures are subordinate to the birds, from which alone augury is sought at the beginning of any important undertaking.

Some idea of the method in which the Dyaks carry out their system of omens may be gathered from what is done at the commencement of the yearly rice-farming. Some man who has the reputation of being fortunate, and has had large paddy crops, will be the augur, and undertake to obtain omens for a large area of land on which he and others intend to plant. The Dyaks begin clearing the ground of jungle and high grass when the Pleiades appear at a certain height above the horizon at sunset. Some little time before this the augur sets about his work. He will have to hear the cry of the *nendak*, the *katupong*, and the *beragai*, all on his left. If these cries come from birds on his right, they are not propitious. The cries of

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787 the other sacred birds must sound on his right. He goes forth in the early morning, and wanders about the jungle
●243 till the cry of the *nendak* is heard on his left. He will then break off a twig of anything growing near, and take it home and put it in a safe place. But it may happen that some other omen bird or animal is first to be seen or heard. In that case he must give the matter up, return, and try his chance another day. Thus, sometimes several days pass before he has obtained his first omen. When he has heard the *nendak*, he will then listen for the *katupong* and the other birds in the necessary order. There is always the liability of delays caused by the wrong birds being heard, and it may possibly be a month or more before he obtains all those augural predictions, which will give him confidence that his farming for the year will be successful. When the augur has collected a twig for each bird he has heard, he takes these to the land selected for farming, buries them in the ground, and with a short form of address to the birds and to Pulang Gana—the god of the Earth—clears a small portion of the ground of grass or jungle, and then returns home. The magic virtues of the birds have been conveyed to the land, and the work of clearing it for planting may be begun at any time.

787 The sacred birds can be bad omens as well as good. If heard on the wrong side, or in the wrong order, the matter in hand must be postponed or altogether abandoned, unless a subsequent conjunction of good omens occurs, which in the judgment of old experts more than counterbalances the bad omens.

I have mentioned the omens necessary before planting the seed. In a similar manner, before beginning to build a house, or starting on a war expedition, or undertaking

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any new line of action, certain omens are required if good fortune is to attend them and the Fates be propitious. 787

For house-building, the cries of the same birds are required, and in the same order as before planting the seed. But for a war expedition, birds heard on the right hand are best, except in the case of the *nendak*, which may be heard either on the right or on the left hand side.

There are, I believe, certain substitutions for this tedious process of seeking the omens of birds. It is said that for farming, if a piece of gold be hidden in the ground, the hearing of the proper omen birds may be dispensed with. If a fowl be sacrificed, and the blood made to drop in a hole in the earth in which the fowl is afterwards buried, it is said the gods will be satisfied, and a good harvest ensue. And on the occasion of a war expedition, if an offering is made with beating of gongs and drums on starting from the house, it is said that no cries of birds need be obeyed afterwards. But none of these methods are ever used, the Dyaks preferring to submit to the tedious procedure of listening to the cries of the birds.

It is in regard to farming that the practice is most conspicuous. And if any of these omen birds are heard or seen by the Dyak on his way to his work on his paddy land, it foretells either good or evil to himself or to his farm—if good, then all is well, and he goes on his way rejoicing; if evil, he will at once turn back and wait for the following day before going to his work again. The *nendak* foretells good, whether heard on the right hand or the left; so does the *katupong*; but the *papau* is of evil omen, and, if heard, the man must at once beat a retreat. A *beragai* heard occasionally does not matter, but if heard frequently, no work must be done for one day. The *embuas* 787 243

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heard on the right hand is very bad, and in order to insure a good harvest, the unlucky man must not work on his farm for five days. The cry of the *beragai* acts as an antidote, and destroys the bad effects of the cries of birds of bad omen. For instance, the *kutok* and *katupong* are both birds of bad omen, but if after hearing them the cry of a *beragai* is heard, no evil effects need be dreaded. If the cry of a deer, a gazelle, or a mouse-deer be heard, or if a rat crosses the path of a man on his way to his farm, a day's rest is necessary, or he will either cut himself, or become ill, or suffer by failure of his crop.

When a remarkably good omen is heard—one which foretells a plentiful harvest—the man must go to his farm at once, and do some trifling work there, and then return, and in this way clench the foreshadowed luck and at the same time reverence the spirit who promises it. Should a deer, a gazelle, or a mouse-deer come out of the jungle to the farm when a man is at work there, it is an exceptionally good omen. It means that customers will come to buy the paddy, and that therefore the crop will be very good in order that there may be paddy to sell. They honour this omen by resting from work for three days.

But the worst of all omens is to find anywhere on the farm the dead body of any animal, especially if it be that of any animal included in the omen list. It infuses a deadly poison into the whole crop, and one or other of the owner's family will certainly die within the year. When such a terrible thing happens, the omen is tested by killing a pig, and divining from the appearance of its liver directly after death. If the liver be pronounced to be of good omen, then all is well, but if not, then all the rice grown on that ground must be sold or given away.

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Other people may eat it, for the omen affects only those who own the crops.

A way of escaping from the bad effects of omens is sometimes resorted to. Certain men, who by some peculiar magic influence are credited with possessing in themselves some occult power which can overcome bad omens, are able by eating some little thing of the produce of the farm to turn away the evil prognostication and render it ineffectual. Something grown on the farm—a little Indian corn or a few cucumber-shoots—is taken to the man. For a small consideration he eats it raw. By this means he appropriates to himself the evil omen, which can do him no harm, and thus delivers the owner of the farm from any possible evil in the future.

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The Dyak pays heed to these ominous creatures not only in his farming, but in all his journeyings and in any kind of work he may be engaged in. If he be going to visit a friend, the cry of a bird of ill omen will send him back. If he be engaged in carrying beams from the jungle for his house, and hear a *kutok*, or *bejampong*, or an *embuas*, he will at once throw down the piece of timber, and it will be left there for a day or two, or perhaps abandoned altogether. If at night the inhabitants of a long Dyak house hear an owl make a peculiar noise called *sabut*, they will all hastily leave the house in the early morning, and remain away, living in temporary sheds, for some weeks, and return to the house only when they hear a *nendak* or *beragai* cry on their left. There are many omens which make a place unfit for habitation—for example, a *beragai* flying over the house or an armadillo crawling up into it.

So great is the Dyak belief in omens that a man will sometimes abandon a nearly finished boat simply because

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grass, and rear it. I did not like to allow them to do this, 782
because I thought the Dyaks would resent the boys interfering with their sacrifice. But my Dyak catechist told me that the Dyaks had done their duty in making the offerings, and what happened afterwards to the things offered did not matter. So the boys caught the chicken and reared it. I spoke to the Dyaks about it afterwards, and they did not seem to mind their "altar of sacrifice" being robbed of its offering!

In the *ginselan* there is always some animal slain, and the blood of the victim is used. The person on whose behalf the offering is made is sprinkled or touched with the blood to atone for any wrong he may have done, and the house or farm upon which the blessing of the gods is desired is also sprinkled with the blood.

This kind of sacrifice is very often offered on behalf of [243]
farms, and no Dyak thinks his paddy will come to maturity without some application of blood. The fowl is waved in the air over the farm, then it is killed, and the blood sprinkled over the growing paddy.

When there is an epidemic, the *ginselan* is often offered 782
to the spirits of disease, and blood is sprinkled on 755
the posts of the house and on the ladder leading up to it.

On most occasions the victim of the sacrifice, be it pig 782
or fowl, is afterwards eaten. But if the sacrifice be to 243
Pulang Gana at the commencement of the farming, the pig and other offerings are conveyed with the beating of gongs to the land prepared for receiving the seed. The pig is killed, its liver and gall examined for divination, the body and other offerings put in the ground, and some *tuak* (native spirit) poured upon them; a long invocation 782
is then made to Pulang Gana, the god of the land. If a 837
fowl be sacrificed for adultery, its body is thrown away in the jungle.

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and offerings are made to Singalang Burong as in the former feast. 796

(3) *Gawai Gajah* (the "Elephant Feast"): This feast can only be held by a war leader who has been particularly successful against the enemy, and has succeeded in obtaining a large number of heads. It is of so great importance that the Dyaks say that, after this feast has been held, no other need be held in honour of any new heads that may be brought into the house. It is very rarely observed in modern times. The last was held some fifteen years ago by Kinching, a Skrang Dyak living in the Undup. Offerings and incantations are made to Singalang Burong as in the *Tenyalang* feast. The wooden figure of an elephant is placed on the top of a long pole planted in the ground, and to this figure offerings are made.

2. The three principal FEASTS CONNECTED WITH FARMING are the *Gawai Batu*, the *Gawai Benih*, and the *Gawai Nyimpan Padi*. 796 243

(1) *Gawai Batu* (the "Stone Feast"): This feast takes place before the farming operations begin, and is in honour of Pulang Gana, the god of the land, who lives in the bowels of the earth, and has power to make the land fruitful or unfruitful. In this feast invocations are made to this god, and he is asked to give them a good harvest. The whetstones and farming implements are placed in a heap in the veranda of the Dyak house, and offerings are made to the whetstones with a request that they may sharpen their tools and thus lighten their labours. After the feast is over the whetstones are taken to the different farms, and the work of cutting down the jungle for planting begins.

(2) *Gawai Benih* (the "Seed Feast"): This feast is held just before sowing. The seed is placed in baskets in the

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796 public part of the Dyak house, and Pulang Gana is asked to bless it and make it fruitful.

243 (3) *Gawai Nyimpan Padi* (the "Feast of Storing the Paddy"): This is held after the reaping and winnowing are over and the paddy is ready to be stored in the paddy-bins in the loft of the Dyak house. It is only held when the harvest is a particularly good one. A blessing is asked upon the paddy, that it may last a long time, and may not decrease in any mysterious way. Friends who are invited to the feast help to carry and store away the paddy.

796 3. The great FEAST CONNECTED WITH THE DEAD is
769 the *Gawai Antu* (the "Spirit Feast"): No definite period is fixed for the celebration of it, and it may be held one or more years after the death of the person. All those that have died since the last time the feast was held, and have not yet been honoured by this festival for the dead, are remembered at the same time, so that the number of departed spirits commemorated by this feast is great, especially if it is many years since the last time the feast was held.

The preparation is carried on for many weeks. Food and drink and other things are procured. Distant friends are visited and asked to help the feast with gifts of food or money. When all is ready, the whole neighbourhood for miles around is invited to it. It is an opportunity for a friendly social gathering, and it is a formal laying aside of mourning, but in addition, it is a religious ceremony, and means the doing of certain things necessary for the final wellbeing of the dead in the other world.

The dead are invoked and invited to be present at this feast. But how are they to come from Hades? Send a boat for them, says the Dyak, and so he sends what he calls a *lumpang*. A piece of bamboo in which rice has

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into the rice for their daily food. In addition to all this, there is the worry and commotion connected with having to move the household for some months each year to the little hut put up in their paddy-farm some little distance away.

The Sea Dyak has year after year to grow as much paddy as possible. He rises on work-days early in the morning, partakes of his frugal meal of rice and salt, or rice and salt fish, varied, if he be very lucky, by a piece of wild pig's flesh or venison, which he has received as a gift or bought from some hunting friend. His wife bundles up for him his midday meal in the spathe of the Penang palm, and he goes off to his work, returning home late in the evening.

There are days when he does not go to work on his paddy-farm, but spends his time in getting firewood or mending things in his room, or in sitting about in the common veranda chatting with his friends.

When the paddy has grown a little, and the time for weeding draws near, the family remove to the little hut put up in the paddy-field. In the weeding the Sea Dyak is helped by his wife, the younger children being left in charge of the elder for the greater part of the day, while their parents are at work. When the weeding has been done, the family return to the long Dyak house for a month or so; then they go back to their hut to watch the ripening paddy and guard it against attacks of birds and beasts.

Paddy-planting is the chief occupation of every Sea Dyak, but he has plenty of time for other things, and his life is not quite so monotonous as may be supposed. The actual work of paddy-planting, and things connected with it, such as the building of farm-huts and the getting

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ready of farming implements, takes up seven or perhaps eight months of the year. The Sea Dyak has, therefore, a certain amount of time during which he can visit his friends, make boats, or hunt for jungle produce.

On certain occasions the Sea Dyaks muster in great force. At a feast a large number of them appear dressed in such finery as they possess, and they eat more than is good for them, and drink enough bad Dyak *tuak* (spirit) to make them very sick and to give them a bad headache for the next few days. At a large *tuba*-fishing crowds of them congregate with their hand-nets and fish-spears, and a pleasant sort of picnic is spent, attended, if they are fortunate, with the procuring of much fish.

The Sea Dyak has his bad times. When he has had a bad crop, he has to think of some means of raising money—not for luxuries in dress and food, but for the plain necessaries of rice and salt upon which many Dyaks have to live for several months in the year. On these occasions he will work for some Chinaman at the nearest bazaar for a low wage, or sell firewood to them for whatever they will give. If he possess such things, he sells some old brass gun or gong to buy food for his family. If he be reduced to borrowing paddy from his neighbours, he will have to pay back the following year double the amount he has received.

Below the class of industrious workers whom I have tried to depict, there is a lower stratum consisting of the failures. These are the lazy Dyaks, the poor workers, who have never by any possible chance enough paddy at the harvest to last them through the year; who live perpetually in an atmosphere of debt; who eke out their livelihood by selling wild-ferns and bamboo-shoots for the

12: Haddon & Start E-4 (no date) 1936 OC6 Iban OC6

small green pigeon" ("*Treron*, all species except *T. capellei*", *S.D.D.*); perhaps it is represented for the purpose of protecting the crops from the pigeons (pl. xvii, *k*, *l*, *m*).

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Crocodiles

Although the crocodile, *baya*, is frequently used as a decorative motive in war-boats and is carved on the posts of the long house, it seems only to appear on the textiles used as blankets.

The crocodile designs, as will be seen from those figured on pl. xi, are amongst the most life-like representations on the cloths. The blankets upon which they appear and other designs are used as wall decorations as well as for their more practical purpose. Crocodiles on *pua* are shown in Camb. Mus. photos. Indon. Born. 362, 387, 394.

"A special deity, Pulang Gana, presides over the rice-culture of the Ibans, but the crocodile also is intimately concerned with their rice-culture.... On going to a new district Ibans always make a life-size image of a crocodile in clay on the land chosen for the paddy-farm....When the rites are duly performed this clay crocodile destroys all the pests which eat the rice.... Many Ibans claim the live crocodile as a relative and...will not eat the flesh of crocodiles nor kill them, save in revenge when a crocodile has taken one of their household. They say that the spirit of the crocodile sometimes becomes a man just like an Iban....Another reason given for their fear of killing crocodiles is that Ribai, the river-god, sometimes becomes a crocodile", as may Klieng, who gives them heads in war and first advised the Iban to make friends with Pulang Gana (Hose and McDougall, 1901, pp. 198, 199; 1912, II, pp. 88, 89). The belief that crocodiles are afraid to eat Iban is reported by the Rev. W. Chalmers as quoted by Ling Roth, I, pp. 348–350.

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Lizards

Borneo abounds in lizards; Beccari mentions 49 species, one of which is the monitor lizard, *bayak*, *Varanus* sp., which reaches a yard in length; it is common and its flesh is highly esteemed. This is conventionally represented on pl. xii, *l*, but what is evidently the same lizard is realistically shown in shell-work on certain *kalambi*, pp. 51, 52. Large "lizards" adorn a *pua* (1905, 419) in the British Museum, which, if they are lizards, are probably

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14: Howell M-5 (ca. 1900) 1900 OC6 Iban OC6

of it eats off the floor. That is, he who has worked hard gets rich and can afford to buy plates whilst the lazy man remains poor and cannot afford such luxuries.

37. *Baka manok ngerja taji, baka buyah ngerja api.* As the fighting cock braves the artificial spur, as the moth braves the flame. Cf. "A wilful man must have his way."

38. *Utang gegenang tunggu enda lalu.* The offence is clear, but the fine is not forthcoming.

39. *Tuntong dikurung, pangkat dilepas.* One kind of speckled fowl is shut up but another kind of fowl is let go. Cf. "One person may steal a horse but another may not even look over the gate." Cf. No. 29.

40. *Manok pen lepas, jari kan tai.* The fowl escapes but the hand smells of its droppings. Said of a man who not only loses his case but is fined as well.

II. Entelah—Riddles.

1. *Laja Apoi Sali enda alah tesa sa hari.* The darts of Sali's Father cannot be counted in a day.

Answer. *Ujan.* The rain drops.

2. *Indai Uik besandik enggau batik labong Betawi, Indai Ua bema enggau pua lebur-api.* What is it that Uik's mother carries in a Batavian headkerchief, and Ua's mother in a flame-coloured red blanket.

Answer. *Leba rumput teka meda ti lekat di kain.* The seeds of the love grass (*chrysopogon aciculatis*) which stick to the clothing.

3. *Ulun Kumpang dudok di slong panjai, Kalingkang manjong. Akai! Akai! Ulun Balau dudok di kubau betrang ngumbai diri parai.* The Kumpang slaves sit in the wire circle shouting, Oh dear! Oh dear! The Balau slaves sit in the house shouting altogether that they are dying.

Answer. *Entlit.* Love birds (in captivity).

4. *Dientam bala Kayan ngasoh iya ngetan duga-duga, ditempoh bala Maloh ngasoh iya kiroh beguga dampa.* Attacked by an army of Kayans it is only made to sit the tighter, surprised by an army of Malohs it is only the more concerned in the making of its temporary house.

Answer. *Tangkang.* The oyster.

5. *Sudu puntul iko ditegu enda nganu kitai; Naga printik mata ngelala senyata leman utai.* The *sudu* (snake) with the blunt tail does not hurt us when we touch him; The *naga* (snake) with the spotted eyes distinguishes the different uses (weights) of things.

Answer. *Daching.* The steelyard for weighing.

6. *Ai manoh pasir nunyani.* The high tide makes the sandbank.

Answer. *Asi.* Cooked rice. [This refers to rice being cooked in a pot for when cooked, the water disappears and the rice (the sand bank) appears].

7. *Asi mansan prick blah.* When the rice is cooked the pot breaks.

Answer. *Buah Kramunting.* The berry of the *Melastoma.* [When this berry is ripe its skin breaks].

8. *Ikan rangkai, bubu basah.* The fish are dry but the fish-trap is wet.

Answer. *Orang ti dalam rumah.* People that are in the house. [It may rain outside but they are within in the dry].

9. *Kekura ujong junghar.* A tortoise at the extremity of the drying-platform.

Answer. *Kukut.* The nail at the end of one's finger.

10. *Pagar orang nampak, pagar kitai enda nampak.* Other peoples' fence is visible but our own is not.

Answer. *Ngeli.* The teeth.

11. *Makai enda nelan.* Eating but not swallowing.

Answer. *Duku.* The chopper, or *Bliong.* The adze.

12. *Luan ditanya kamudi nyaut.* A question is asked how but cox answers it.

Answer. *Iko ukui.* A dog's tail. [You call your dog and he wags his tail in reply.]

III. Pasal Bumai—Concerning Paddy Farming.

Bisi tiga macham Umai, Bukit, Tekat, enggau Paya. Nyadi samoa umai bedudok ari rimba. Enti menoa udah lama dipangkang baru bisi maioh damun. Enti damun diawak ka datai ka sa puloh dua puloh taun enda dipumai iya dikumbai pengerang.

Umai tau diadu ka kitai bebagi dua, umai rimba enggau umai damun. Baik umai Bukit, baik umai Tekat, baik umai Paya, enti

There are three kinds of Paddy Farms (viz.) the Hill, the Irrigation, and the Wetland Farm. All farms originate from the old-jungle. If the country has been long inhabited then there are many young-jungle farms. If the young-jungle is allowed to remain untouched for ten or twenty years it is called *pengerang.*

Paddy Farms can be divided into two classes, the old-jungle farm and the young-jungle farm. Whether a Hill farm or an Irri

14: Howell M-5 (ca. 1900) 1900 OC6 Iban OC6

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iya kampong iya dikumbai umai rimba. Nyadi umai rimba enggau umai damun enda serta dikerja. Laban umai rimba kayu iya besai laun rangkai iya dikerja dulu, umai damun dikerja laun agi, bulih tengah dua bulan dudi ari umai rimba.

Anang kitai saru ditu. Samoa umai dulu dipeburong ka, udah nya dipanggol ka. Udah ngundang panggol dua tiga kali lalu ditebas ka bendar. Baka nya mega samoa orang leboh nganti reban mansau turun ngiga ikan, iani.

Bumai rimba baka tu iya, agi orang ngetau nyau beburong lalu manggol dijong ka nasau. Serta Bintang Banyak pegari iya nya di bulan lima orang nebang. Tebang pen udah, semadi nganti reban mansau, orang turun nubai, mansai, bebubu, ngasu, ngiga lauk enggau nugal. Serta Bintang Tiga nyau di kebong langit, nya bulan delapan, enti reban nyau mansau orang nunu. Umai pen udah ditunu, udah diawak ka tegalan chelap dua tiga hari orang belaboh betanam jagong enggau enabi. Udah orang pupus betanam lalu nengkira diri enggau nugal. Umai pen udah ditugal orang belaboh ngeraga, lalu betampong pengawa, mumpun, mantun, datai kami ngetau.

Bumai damun orang beburong di bulan lima serta Bintang Banyak pegari, lalu manggol dijong ka nasau baik nebas, enggau baka pemaoh babas. Nunu serta enggau umai rimba lalu sabaka berari pengawa datai ka di ngetau. Leboh nugal orang bedurok sampai diri sa rumah. Orang nengkira ka nugal nyau ka sabaka enggau nengkira ka Pengawa. Orang Bujang behanding enggau orang ti Dara samoa ngena utai manah. Lelaki nugal indu menih. Tu samoa leman pengawa ngerja Umai Bukit, baik damun baik rimba.

Umai Tekat dikerja serta enggau Umai Damun enti iya ukai Rimba, utang enti iya Rimba iya dikerja serta mega enggau Umai Rimba bukit. Ditu iya enda sabaka enggau umai bukit, iya bepanggai atas ai ti ditekat ngampoh ka tanah pengumbas iya, ngamgation farm or a Wet-land farm, if it be old-jungle it is called a *rimba* farm. Now the *rimba* farm and the *damun* farm are not worked at the same time; (but) because the trees of the *rimba* farm are large and take some time to get dry it is worked first; the *damun* farm is worked later on, about a month and a half after the *rimba* farm.

Let us not be confused here. A divination is first held concerning all farms and then the preliminary clearing is performed. After the preliminary clearing is done two or three times then commences the general clearing. Likewise also everyone whilst waiting for the felled jungle to dry thoroughly sets out on an expedition to look for fish and pigs.

The *rimba* farm is like this, a divination is taken whilst the people are still harvesting and the preliminary clearing is begun and followed up by the general clearing of the undergrowth.

As soon as the Pleiades are visible, which takes place in 'the fifth month,' people begin to fell the trees. After the trees are felled whilst waiting for the felled jungle to dry thoroughly they set out to poison (the streams for) fish, to catch fish with hand-baskets, to set fish-traps, or to hunt, (in order to) obtain food to eat with their rice during the sowing.

As soon as the Three Stars are midway in the Heavens it is 'the eighth month' and if the felled jungle is thoroughly dry people set fire to it. After the farms are burnt and after the land is allowed to cool for two or three days they begin to plant such things as Indian corn and mustard. After the planting (of these) is all finished they commence to prepare for the sowing of the paddy.

After the sowing of the paddy people commence to fence the farms, and work, such as killing the new shoots of the bamboos, and weeding continues right on until harvest time.

In order to farm young-jungle they commence the divination in 'the fifth-month,' as soon as the Pleiades are visible, and start the preliminary clearing, clear the undergrowth, or cut the jungle whatever size it may be.

The burning takes place at the same time as the *rimba*-farm (burning does) and daily the work is similar up to harvest time.

When sowing paddy people aid one another (if) of the same house. They prepare for the sowing time as it were for a Feast. The Bachelors vie with the Maidens and both sexes are well-dressed. The men 'dibble' and the women sow the seed. This is the whole of the undertaking when making a Hill farm, whether it be a young-jungle or an old-jungle farm.

The Irrigation farm is worked at the same time as the Young-jungle farm if it be not an Old-jungle farm, but if it be an Old-jungle farm it is worked at the same time as the Hill Old-jungle farm. Here, where it differs from the Hill farm, it depends upon

14: Howell M-5 (ca. 1900) 1900 OC6 Iban OC6

bika, enda ngelemas ka padi. Padi Umai Tekat ditugal laban iya di empran. Enti tanah bisi baka paya ditambak ka dia. Umai Tekat enti udah nyadi balat buah padi. Umai Tekat enda baka umai bukai, atas bisi ai aja enggau nekat, padi tentu nyadi. Umai Tekat mega enda milih babas baik babas baoh baik babas baroh. ai ti nupi padi.

ample irrigation that covers the land so that the paddy be not drowned. The paddy on an Irrigation farm is 'dibbled' in because it is on flat land. If the land is (however) swamp-like the paddy is transplanted there. If the Irrigation farm prospers it gives a large return. The Irrigation farm is not like other farms; as long as there is water to irrigate it the paddy is sure to prosper. The Irrigation farm has no particular choice as to the size of the jungle whether it be high or low jungle; it is the water that affords sustenance to the paddy.

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Umai paya bisi dua macham. sa macham dikumbai Umai Tabor, lalu sa macham dikumbai Umai Tambak. Enti iya rimba, skalika babas baoh, iya ditabor, enti iya babas baroh iya ditambak.

There are two kinds of Wet-land farms. One is called the Broad-cast farm and the other the Transplanted farm. If it be an old-jungle or a big-jungle farm it is sown broad-cast, but if it be a low-jungle farm it is transplanted.

Baik rimba, baik damun, baik bukit, baik paya, baik tekat, serta magang benih ditanam di bulan delapan serta Bintang Tiga nyau di kebong langit. Enti padi mar ditabor orang di bulan tujoh. Umai Tabor enda maioh pengawa enti iya angus, utang enti iya enda angus payah bendar; iya ga olih ngebak, baka nya mega umai rimba, bukit, enggau damun. Umai ditambak maioh agi pengawa. Dulu padi dikubor udah nya baru nebas alai betambak. Pengawa betambak tu panjai datai ka di padi nyau semak ngandong: utang umai tambak jarang enda nyadi, tambah mega iya badas. Enti orang ka kiroh udah betambak dibantun iya baru rumput ti tumboh.

Whether it be old-jungle or young-jungle, hill-land, or wet-land, or irrigation-land, the seeds are all sown together in 'the eighth month' as soon as the Three Stars are in the midst of the Heavens. If it be a slow-growing (lit: difficult) kind of paddy people plant it in 'the seventh month.' There is not much work on a farm sown broad-cast if it be thoroughly burnt, but if not thoroughly burnt it is very difficult indeed (for) the wood (debris) has all to be taken up and burnt; likewise also an old-jungle farm or a young-jungle farm on a hill.

Now the farm that is made by transplanting the paddy (requires) much more work.

First of all the paddy is sown in a nursery and then the jungle is cleared for transplanting. The work of transplanting takes a long time and continues up to the time when the paddy is about to burst into ear, but the transplanted farm rarely fails to succeed and is moreover good. If a man take the trouble after the farm is planted (with the paddy) he weeds the grass that grows up.

Diadu ka umai udah diraga, orang betusok kajang lalu ngintu tanju enggau nyambut padi. Enti orang lapar barang umai ti dulu mansau di buah sa tetak sa piak disumba. Leboh ngetau nadai bisi hari diau takut ka padi burok. Lelak bendar leboh ngetau, kati enda pia? "Tawas ngetau, malam nungku."

Suffice it, that when the farm is fenced people begin to sew leaf-mats and repair the platform to receive the paddy.

If people suffer from famine, any paddy that first begins to partly ripen in the ear is reaped. During the harvest there is no time to rest for fear that the paddy should rot. Great is the fatigue people undergo during harvest. Is it not so? "Harvesting in the day time and threshing at night."

IV. Dua iko orang lelaki bejako.—A conversation between two men.

(*Anding bejako.* Anding speaks). *Dudok unggal.* Sit down friend. *Tu kandi, empa.* Here is the bag containing the chewing ingredients, eat. *Sapa enggau nuan?* Who is with you?

(*Bantin bejako.* Bantin speaks). *Kadiri aku aja.* I am alone.

A. Ari ni nuan datai? Where have you come from?

B. Aku datai ari China. I have come from the Chinese (bazaar).

A. Nama ulih nuan? What did you get?

B. Nadai, mina mli garam, semakau. Nothing, I merely bought salt and tobacco.

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The combination of the erratic picture of rainfall, a great amount of water, flat land and high tides, makes prediction of water levels hazardous in the extreme, and when heavy rains coincide with high tides, flooding is likely to occur. This element of uncertainty is of great importance to both hill - and wet-rice farmers.

For the past three years, i.e., the agricultural years of July to March, 1969 to 1971, forty per cent of the Ibans surveyed in the Sibu District claimed to have been caught out by early rains or to have lost their crops to flooding. Some anticipated a short but sufficient dry season in late June or July and cleared accordingly, only to have rains come after their land was cleared and the brief dry season earlier. In 1971, there were two short dry spells and some who were not ready to burn in the first one at the end of May were able to take advantage of the latter one in August.[3] Farmers in low-lying areas

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[3] Formerly, Iban horticultural activities in all areas were carried out according to the positions of three principal constellations: the Pleiades (bintang banyak), Orion (bintang tiga), and Sirius (bintang Tangkong peredah). These stars are still followed in the schedules of some Ibans, especially in remoter areas, where it is said, "If there were no stars we Iban would be lost, not knowing when to plant; we live by the stars" (Freeman 1955-40). Stellar lore is rapidly disappearing in this District and temporal orientation is increasingly based on the calendar; for example, the ritual beginning of horticulture is fixed on June 1st when the Gawai Dayak is observed. This, also, has obvious problems, because of unseasonable rains.

132 where wet-rice is cultivated are not so affected by unseasonable rains,
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243 for with the introduction and use of herbicides, they can easily clear and burn their farms in the dry weather available. But these farmers are more vulnerable and have suffered losses due to flooding at different times of the horticultural year. In 1970, some farms were flooded in the Pasai Bon area when the rice was coming to fruit, others when the rice was ripe and the panicles so heavy that they fell over into the water and rotted. At the time of this writing, the District's lowlands have been inundated with from one to three feet of fetid water in an unseasonable August flood, just at the end of the Ibans' clearing their farms and before they could transplant. Those who made their seed-beds (chemi') in low-lying areas lost the young shoots (anak padi) under the water. As Ganai, Apai Gaun from Rumah Nyala, Sungai Aup, complained, "This is the third (consecutive) year our farms have failed on account of rain" (Tu'mah katiga taun umai kami enda' nyadi setegal ujan).

3. Minerals

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135 The Sibu District is marked by a singular absence of valuable minerals, and mining industries play a relatively small part in the whole of the Sarawak economy. With the exception of oil, mining has been concentrated entirely in Sarawak west of the Batang Lupar, and there seems little likelihood of any significant discoveries being made

314 "a good nut-year is a great event in Sarawak and provides a literal windfall for the native tribes,"

[439] and, it should be added, for the Chinese shopkeepers, for the "windfall" quickly ends up with the Chinese merchants who have staked the illipe nut gatherers and collect their loans, or purchase the nuts while selling outboard motors, sewing machines, gold and other valuables to the Ibans.[12]

[423] [439] Sarawak abounds in fruits, and the trees are held under customary rights. Ibans and other indigenous groups collect the fruits when they bear, and either sell them to Chinese hawkers or bring them to town to sell. We will give more attention to this in Chapter Four.

2. Rubber

175 177 249 Para rubber (Hevea brasiliensis) was first introduced into Sarawak in 1882 when Bishop Charles Hose planted one seedling in Kuching.

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314 243 [12]The relative abundance of forest products and especially illipe nuts when they are bearing has been a significant factor in the casualness with which many indigenese approach rice-cultivation. Prior to the planting of rubber and pepper in this District, men took off to collect jungle produce in the period between planting and harvesting rice. Bailey described how Malays in the Lingga area gave up rice-cultivation for collecting and fishing, finding the task easier and more pleasant (SG 2 June, No. 437, 1902). Sometimes rice has been neglected to the extent that crops are lost, as one Resident complained: "What I feared might happen has come to pass, the padi having been deserted by the Dyaks for the easily collected and remunerative engkabang crop, with the result that the majority of the Dyaks are short of rice and will have to obtain their supplies from other sources. They have plenty of money and will be able to obtain supplies. . . "SG 1 August, No. 839, 1923). Critics of Ibans who favor collecting over rice-cultivation fail to note that the rewards of the former are much more certain at the times when produce is available.

A, [Sarawak Gazette--Analyst]

permanence and because it was the first longhouse in memory built of planks.[18] In other areas, for example Oya Road and specifically Rumah Tindit and Rumah Meruan, the advent of rubber has been influential in the fragmentation of longhouses which have been abandoned as individual families moved away to be nearer to their gardens.[19]

Adaptation to rubber production was a shift in the value system and social structure of the Iban community. For, whereas previously successful rice cultivation was a requisite for any Iban male seeking recognition and upward mobility, rubber planting opened a new way to wealth and acquisition of economic security, so much desired and a sure sign of the blessings of the gods. The conflict between the traditional padiculture and rubber growing was expressed in a wide-spread story that rubber ate rice.[20] According to one version,

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[18] Owing to the practice of shifting cultivation, longhouses were impermanent structures, built of softwood posts, split bamboo floors, bark walls and thatched roofs, according to several informants (Unchat Chok, Tuai Rumah Gaong).

[19] The ceremonial importance of the longhouse continues and [796] bilik - families return occasionally for gawai and other ritual activities.

[20] Pringle describes a similar story among the Saribas Ibans [114] (1970-203), Freeman among the Balleh Ibans (1955-105), and Geddes among the Land Dayaks.

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"Aing of Telok Bulat, Binatang, put his padi out to dry on a mat on the ranju', and went off to his farm. When he returned, the rice was all gone - not a kernel was left. The next day, the same thing happened. As there was no strong wind on either day, Aing was suspicious, andon the third day, sneaked around to the back of his house and up into the sadau from where he could keep an eye on his rice. He noticed a slight movement and saw the branches of a rubber tree bending toward the rice, closer and closer, until the rubber leaves - notice, they are shaped like a naga (dragon)- ate the rice."

249 177 176 [454]

As a result of the story and other cultural pressures, an unknown number of Ibans cut their rubber trees down, a move that they were to regret later. Those who refused to destroy their rubber trees, such as the fathers of Unchat Chok and Jonathan Bangau, prominent Iban businessmen in Sibu, reaped large profits during the periods when prices were high and through wise investment (well-advised by Chinese friends) became wealthy.[21]

175 177 439

Another far-reaching effect of the Rajah's policy on rubber was the development of a state-wide trading network to handle the exportation of rubber, involving Ibans, Chinese, Malays and others in production and, until recently, principally Chinese in the position of middlemen. Until 1964, when it was displaced by timber, rubber was Sarawak's chief export product for almost thirty years, and the network

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[21] Chok Apai Unchat was a close friend of Wong father of Mr. Wong Soon Kai, a Sibu-born surgeon, and through the elder Wong's advice bought a shophouse on Island Road that is now the property of his son.

bringing. One year later, 22,000 piculs were exported from Sibu in the one month of November, 1948, and in 1950, Government reports complained of the problems of recruiting labor and predicted the failure of rice crops that were neglected by planters taking advantage of the rubber boom. At present, many Ibans are hiring out as coolies for two to three dollars a day rather than tap rubber which is bringing about $45 per picul.[23] When prices are up, rubber is tapped. When it is more profitable to engage in other activities, rubber is left alone.

Another reason why the local trade is variable is the erratic rainfall which has been described (pages 15-19). Rainfall at night or in the early morning makes rubber tapping impossible, and during months of heavy rain the production of rubber drops appreciably.

In addition to rainfall and fluctuating prices, another reason for variations in the rubber trade is the seasonal activities of rice

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[23] The "Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture, Third Division, Upper Rejang, For the Year 1970," contains the following indictment: "Due to the decline in prices down to the 50's the exports of rubber from Sibu and presumably the production went down three fold as compared to 1969. Many small holders have stopped tapping their trees and (are) turning elsewhere for their livelihood. This short sighted policy on the part of our farmers is a definite drawback as it hampers the Government's efforts to stabilise the rubber market." (pages 13-14). The small holder, however, has no alternative other than exploiting the part(s) of his environment which offers the greatest rewards at any one time.

cultivation. During the months of May to August, when clearing and planting takes place, and March and April, when harvesting and storing is done, the time given to rubber tapping is much less than during the other months. In some families with more members, a division of labor is arranged so that both rice farming and rubber production, for food and cash, are carried on.

Still another reason for variations is the tendency at all levels, from tapper to trader to exporter, to speculate and hold back quantities of rubber against a rise in prices which sometimes occurs, though recently not by very much. It is not uncommon to find several scores of rubber sheets hanging in village shops or lesser amounts in the dapor section of a bilik, being held until prices rise or until the owners make a trip to the pasar. Many small holders cannot afford the luxury of such speculation, even on a small scale, and must sell soon after processing the sheets regardless of prices.

The fluctuations in the rubber trade may be seen on the following page in Table 2, in which rubber exports are correlated with the amount of rainfall and prices during the months of 1970. Two other factors must be kept in mind: (1) the months from March to August are times when rice cultivation and harvesting require a major proportion of work, if a successful crop is to be had, and (2) th. prices given are exporters' prices, the small holder receiving considerably less.

ooo processing and manufacture from Indonesia.

4. Rice

243 [262] [771] Rice is the basic food among the Ibans and other peoples of Sarawak, and, as will be discussed later, much ritual and religious belief is associated with every aspect of rice cultivation. From the inauguration of the annual activities with augury and ceremonial claiming of the fields to be farmed, until the concluding crooning to the rice-spirit as the grain is stored away, the acquisition of rice is an all-embracing way of life among the Ibans, touching on every aspect [192] [261] of their lives. To eat(makai) means, in Iban, to eat rice. And no matter how filling and varied other foods are, an Iban has not eaten until he has partaken of rice.[39]

243 162 According to the 1960 census (Jones 1960: 260-1), 46 per cent of the total Sarawak population depended either entirely or primarily on rice cultivation for their living. As indicated in Table 7 on the following page, Ibans account for almost two-thirds of all rice farmers. And of the total economically active Iban population, almost 89 per cent are engaged entirely or primarily in rice cultivation.

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[39] After eating a large dinner- but no rice - with our family, some Iban visitors left and went to the pasar to eat. When we accidentally encountered them at their second meal, we apologized for their going away hungary, "Oh no, they politely replied, your food was very good, but we hadn't eaten (rice) yet."

TABLE 7

Rice Farmers, 1960

	Persons engaged primarily in rice farming	Percentage of all rice farmers	Economically active population	Percentage economically active population in rice farming
Malay	20,220	11.9	42,975	47.1
Melanau	4,599	2.7	17,712	26.0
Land Dayak	19,878	11.7	23,498	84.6
Iban	108,889	64.2	122,701	88.7
Other indigenous	13,959	8.2	17,042	81.9
Chinese	1,734	1.0	67,171	2.6
Europeans	-----	----	769	-----
Others	387	0.2	2,417	16.0
Sarawak Totals	169,666	99.9	294,285	57.6

In the Third Division, both hill rice (padi bukit) and swamp rice (padi paya) are grown. Although some hill rice is grown in all of the Districts of the Third Division, most is it is grown in the Kapit District. In the agricultural year of 1969-1970, an estimated 77,780 acres were planted with hill rice with an average yield of 110 to 140 gantangs per acre.[40] Swamp rice is grown on the flat, lowland soils, especially in the Sibu and Mukah Districts. The average yield per acre for 1969-1970 was 250 gantangs of padi, and for those who participated in the skim padi ("Assistance to Wet-Padi Planters Scheme," initiated on a small scale in 1959 and considerably expanded under the Sarawak Development Plan,

[40] A gantang is a dry measure, containing about four kati (5 1/3 pounds) of unhusked rice (padi) or six kati (8 pounds) of husked rice (beras). Average consumption per adult male is four gantang, per female three gantang per month.

243 1964-1968; cf. p. 35), the average yields were as much as twice that [654] amount.

TABLE 8

Rice Planted and Yields,
Third Division
1970-1971

District/Sub-Districts	Swamp Padi	Hill Padi
Sibu	5,500 piculs	2,000 piculs
Mukah	2,260 piculs	4,250 piculs
Balingian	6,600 piculs	3,560 piculs
Dalat	780 piculs	2,080 piculs
Kanowit	1,200 piculs	5,190 piculs
Kapit	420 piculs	38,000 piculs
Song	160 piculs	12,700 piculs
Belaga	150 piculs	10,000 piculs
Total planted	17,070 piculs	77,780 piculs
Estimated Yield	200,000 piculs	400,000 piculs

Not all harvested padi is edible rice. At best, only about 75 per cent of the best, full-kerneled grains are obtained for eating, the remainder being separated into husks or chaff for animal fodder. At worst, as little as one-third of a crop yields food.

The multiplex of factors already discussed-pests, erratic rainfall, casual attitudes about planting and weeding, poor soils - all combine to make rice-cultivation an uncertain undertaking in most of Sarawak. On this point, Jackson writes:

18:Sutlive E,M-S (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6
Sibu

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> "The results of the 1960 census of Agriculture reveal the bare subsistence level of Sarawak's rice farmers, for only 35.9 per cent of all the padi-growing farms enumerated, produced sufficient rice for family requirements. In only five Districts (Sibu, Miri, Baram, Limbang and Lawas) did more than half the enumerated farms satisfy domestic needs; over large areas less than one-third of the farms were in this position, and certain areas of serious shortage emerge. Rice farming, therefore, 'is more a way of life than an economic source of livelihood'."

In a survey of 37 longhouse communities in the Sibu District, the author found that in only about 36 per cent of all the cases was sufficient rice produced to last a family from one harvet until the next. In 64 per cent of the cases, rice had to be obtained through sale of rubber, pepper, jungle produce, or other goods, or through hiring out to a more successful member of the same longhouse.[41]

000 From the above information, it is obvious that virtually all of the rice consumed in the Sibu town area is imported from outside the District. Further, much of the rice consumed in the rural areas as well has to be obtained beyond the District, and there is no rice available for export. Rice is the staple food in the diet of the

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[621] [41] The popular notion of the communal longhouse where members share and share alike is erroneous. A common saying among Ibans is, Bilik siti baka menoa siti ("A family is like an independent country" - self-supporting and independent). Tuai Rumah Imba of Durin Road is justly famous for his continuous success in farming. He has been able to have fish-ponds dug, obtains vegetables and fish daily- in exchange for rice.

464 this chapter the pattern which was established by the second decade of this century of unemployed persons coming into the pasar to seek work. The number of Ibans who came in during the first half-century was re- [198] latively small because there were few opportunities open to them. With the development of Sibu during the past twenty-five years, however, and the proliferation of schools near longhouse communities, more and more Ibans are seeking employment in or through the pasar.

198 According to the 1960 Census, 96 per cent of all economically 243 active Iban males and 99 per cent of all economically active females 463 were engaged in rice cultivation. Table 14 presents the other categories in which Ibans were working at that time. Regrettably, data are not yet available from the 1970 Census to indicate shifts in employment categories, but upon the basis of a survey conducted in connection with this study and upon the author's impression, it is most likely that the number and percentage of persons employed in non-agricultural categories has increased significantly.

162 The Iban population of Sibu fluctuates considerably as members of 464 the society move in and out of the pasar. This makes the task of ascer- 369 taining the number of Ibans who may be termed permanent residents of the urban area difficult if not impossible, by admission of an official of the Department of Statistics, Kuala Lumpur, and of the Urban District Council. However, the importance of Sibu as a recruitment center has

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 196]

IBAN ADAPTATION

182 The Ibans' adaptation to their habitat has included a number of different activities and responses. These have been expressed in the techniques and rituals which they have used to acquire the food and other goods which they have deemed necessary for their living, and in the ways in which they have organized themselves to make meaningful the responses they have made to both their physical habitat and their cultural environments.

♥ 243 Traditionally, the Ibans' quest for food has been divided among a number of different activities, the most important being rice horti-
[766] culture. As we discuss in some detail in this chapter, rice cultivation is a highly ritualized activity with symbols which are interrelated with
[771] a number of other highly valued practices. As with numerous other peoples, rice cultivation is not merely a technique of acquisition but a way of life that is supported by and in turn supports Iban theology, cosmology and eschatology. We will consider in a later chapter on Iban culture the basic value of self-sufficiency, by which members of the society are scaled in the class system.

243 Less than forty per cent of Iban cultivators are self-sufficient
[162] in rice, and must supplement their farming with other means of obtaining their food supply.

243 their food supply. Gathering of jungle produce is still a relatively
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314 important work by which fruits, chicle, fibers and a number of other items are brought to market and sold. The collection of vegetable leaves, shoots and cabbages of a number of different palms provides the principal supplements to the staple of rice. And when rice runs out and there is no money to buy more, the much-disliked scarcity food, sago, can be collected and processed.

226 Fishing is both a leisure activity and a means for catching the most regular and dependable supply of meat in the Iban diet. The Ibans are most adapt at exploiting the rivers and streams along which they live, their techniques depending upon the conditions of the water, the habits of the fish and other aquatic life, and whether they intend to consume the catch personally or to sell it to members of their long-house or in the market. The introduction of fish-ponds has provided a much more dependable source of meat.

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244 Hunting provides a diversion from other activities, but game is not plentiful in this District. Gardening is assuming more importance among a number of Ibans, but the inclination is to plant cash crops rather than vegetables for personal consumption.

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437 The uncertainty of returns from rice cultivation, together with the orientation of Ibans to a cash economy and to goods which can be purchased with money, has prompted members of every longhouse to seek employment.

361 the settlement of Bawang Assan, they described the frequency of the movements that took place prior to the final settlements.

> "We moved first to Bukit Lan, but the Rajah wouldn't let us grow rubber,[1] so we had to break up our longhouse and move to Bukit Pantu where we lived in individual dwellings (langkau). From there we moved across the Leba'an to Sungai Jabai, then to Sungai Bilat, back to Tembawai Nyiur,[2] to Tembawai Pungkang[3] and finally to Nanga Bawang Asaan. Only then did we build a permanent longhouse. That's the reason why we have many temuda'" ("previous farming sites").

243 178 Unlike the Ibans of the Sut and other new areas, who cultivate hill rice as described by Freeman (1955), those in the Sibu District mainly farm wet or swamp rice (padi paya'). The juxtaposition of several factors combined in the shift of the Ibans from the cultivation of hill to wet rice. The first and most obvious is the different lie of the land in the Rejang delta, where the relatively recent deposits of alluvial soils are flat, giving way only occasionally to hills and these generally at a [77] distance of several miles from the river banks. A second factor was the introduction of rubber and the Ibans' development of rubber gardens.

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[657] [829] [1] The Second Rajah's assignment of land for twelve miles below Sibu on either side of the Rejang has been rationalized in several different ways by the Ibans who were forced to move, this being one.

[103] [2] So named because of three coconut trees that still grow there.

[823] [3] The Ibans considered this site "hot" (angat) and unlucky because of an unusual number of illnesses and deaths, for which they had to abandon their houses (pungkang, "empty").

243 As already described, the investment of energy, time and other resources
178 [177] into the gardens required a degree of sedentariness. A third factor as we have seen was the coming of the Chinese whose settlements and land grants precluded the continuous and free expansion of the Ibans into [654] ever new lands. A fourth factor which has become important only within the last decade has been the rice schemes ("Assistance to Wet-Padi Planters"), in which aid in the form of seed, fertilizers, insecticides and advice have been given by the Agriculture Department to participants in the skim perintah ("Government schemes"). A fifth factor about which more will be said later is the greater yields to be appreciated [433] from wet rice. The Assistant Agricultural Officer for the Department in the Third Division estimates the yield per acre of hill rice to be four piculs, whereas the yield per acre of wet rice is on an average six to eight piculs, with schemes yielding as much as 16 piculs per acre.[4]

1. Rice is Life

243 771 Iban rice cultivation has been highly elaborated into a complex system of beliefs and practices. For, as Freeman has written,

> "To the Iban, the growing of padi is a ritual undertaking, and their whole system of agriculture is based on an elaborate fertility cult. . . The vast majority of the Iban people are still 'pagan', but they are, nonetheless, an extremely religious people, and ritual pervades every aspect of their lives."

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[4] Letter from Assistant Agricultural Officer, 4 May, 1971.

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6 Sibu

243 771 [774] The basic premise upon which the elaborate rituals observed in connection with rice cultivation are founded is that rice, as well as all other objects, has a soul (semengat), or is enlivened through the soul of the ancestors.[5] For the Iban, life begins and ends with rice, and the strong orientation of many features of Iban life to its cultivation and attendant rituals warrant our describing Iban adaptation as a "padiculture." Rice farming is not merely an economic activity, but rather a way of life, with rice as alpha and omega.

262 To take nourishment means to eat rice, and the first food the infant tastes after his mother's milk (or, presently, Lactogen), is [511] bubur ("rice gruel"). In adult life, there is no more certain standard for the good life than never to be short of rice (enda' kala' pungkang 775 padi). Completing the cycle of existence, the soul of the dead Iban, having been ritually advised[6] that it is dead, crosses Batang Titi Rawan ("The Bridge Whose Crossing Makes Anxious") to Sebayan (lit., "The

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[5] ". . .The whole of the ritual. . .is founded on the simple conception of the rice as animated by a soul like that which these people attribute to mankind. They expalin the phenomena of reproduction, growth, decay and death in the rice on the same principles on which they explain the corresponding phenomena in human beings. They imagine that in the fibres of the plant, as in the body of a man, there is a certain vital element, which is so far independent of the plant that it may for a time be completely separated from it without fatal effects, though if its absence be prolonged beyond certain limits the plant will wither and die. This vital yet separable element is what, for the want of a better word, we must call the soul of a plant. . .and on this theory or myth of the plant-soul is built the whole worship of cereals. . ." (Frazer 1922:413-4).

[6] In the ritual, "Separation of the Wilted Flower" (Serara' Bungai Layus), the manang ceremonially informs the soul that it is dead and must depart from the family.

Opposite").[7] After a stay in Sebayan, highlighted by eating, drinking and revelling with members of the opposite sex to the heart's content, the soul then proceeds on a journey through several river networks, the most important being Mandai Mati ("Death"), Mandai Awai ("Suffering"), and, finally to Mandai Jenoh ("Peace") where the soul is changed into padi-nourishing dew, the fitting end for the Iban life.

Further, not all rice is equally valuable. Each bilik possesses padi pun or a special strain of rice ritually defined as sacred rice.[8] The planting of the padi pun takes priority over the planting of any other strain, in planting wet rice as well as hill rice.[9] Although some degree of the reverence shown the padi pun as described by Freeman (1955: 134-155) still exists among the Ibans in the Sibu District, yet they are much more casual in their handling and treatment of it than the Sut Ibans.

Distinctions between Iban rice and other varieties are frequently pointed out, in favor of the former. Kami enda' kala' makai berau China ("We never ate Chinese rice"), boasted Embuas anak Imba, a notoriously successful farmer. On the inferior qualities of non-Iban rice, Indai

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[7] Afterworld, where all is exactly reversed from this life.

[8] Any of the more than three dozen sub-species of rice can be claimed as padi pun, depending upon each family's lore.

[9] Among the more than 20,000 Ibans who have become Christians this ritual is accompanied with a planting of a wooden cross as well.

186 Anyau said, Mula ia aku makai berau China asai ka mutah ("The first time
243 I ate Chinese rice, I felt like vomiting"). The man who is lucky enough
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[829] to grow enough rice so that he never is without and never has to buy is clearly considered a cut above the man who is not so successful.

243 That rice farming is not merely an economic activity but also
183 a ritual of powerful tradition is abundantly apparent in the cases of men and women who farm at a loss, not because they have to, but because it "is the way of our ancestors" (endang jalai aki ini kami bansa Iban). Unbing owns a wooden, Chinese carpenter-built house at the Tenth Mile Oya Road. In 1969-70, he returned to the area of his longhouse at Sungai Pa to grow rice, even though he is largely self-sufficient in terms of his needs. According to reckoning of the expenses he put out in travel, seed, labor and fertilizer, and the rice he harvested, he lost an estimated M$50 on the farming venture. Asked why he farmed at a loss, when otherwise he is an astute businessman, Unbing's answer was essentially that given above, and repeated by many Ibans: Endang jalai pengidup kami bansa Iban.

2. The Farming Year

243 The beginning of the farming year is set by the annual meeting
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[221] called by the tuai rumah of all the tuai bilik in his house, for the purpose of discussing where each family will farm during the next year. This permits the families involved to state where they will farm, and to

243 621 [923] avoid possible conflicts due to overlapping claims to the same ancestral lands. Further, if a member of the house who has moved away to another longhouse because of marriage (nguai), or for some other reason has been away, wants to activate his rights to farm land claimed by his natal [427] bilik, he may do so at that time. Although renting land is not common, it does occur and a token fee of one pasu of padi per acre is charged cf. Freeman 1955:147-8).

243 716 [221] The annual meeting is held at about the end of April, after the previous year's crop has been brought to the house and stored. At that meeting, the date for the Gawai Batu ("Festival of the Whetstone") is set, and the members of the community begin preparations (nengkira) by cooking tuak ("rice wine"), collection and purchase of food, and the inviting of guests. The purpose of the Gawai Batu is to assure a good harvest in the new year.

[412] A ritual center (pandong) is made on each family's ruai, with the whetstone (batu ansah), tools to be used in farming such as weeding knives (ilok), knives (duku'), hoes (changkul), sickles (pitu'), and axes (kapak), together with baskets of seed (benih), wrapped in a woven blanket (pua' kumbu').

243 621 796 At the meeting held to plan the gawai, each tuai bilik states which guests his family will invite. Generally, all members of nearby houses will be invited, while only a few selected friends from more distant houses will be asked to attend. However, if members of the house

243 796 621 have moved from a distant area where many kinsmen remain, many or all from a distant longhouse may be invited. The rationale for inviting all members of a house is stated, Kami sapemakai ("We are food-sharers"), a ceremonial collectivity. Selected friends are invited to ngabas mukup (lit., "to check up on our share," i.e., to maintain ties of social obligations).

243 796 [515] On the day of the gawai, guests who come from other houses bathe and dress before being received at the foot of the ladder by a male host bearing a flag. He leads them up into the longhouse at one end and, to the accompaniment of gongs, the guests are received by women with liquid refreshments on each ruai: tuak, arak ("a home distilled liquor"), commercial whiskey, brandy and beer. The female guests drop out of the line as they enter into their hostess' bilik. After the men have travelled the length of the house (niti rumah), they are seated on their hosts' ruai next to the outer wall (datas, "the highest place").

When they have been seated, three acts are performed to insure the success of the gawai and, in turn, the success of the new farming [787] year. First, guests are told that if they have observed any omen bird, snake or other inauspicious sign while coming to the gawai, to disregard it as an offering will be made to appease it. Second, a cock is waved over the heads of the guests by a male host (miau enggau manok) and a blessing pronounced on them. After the cock has been killed, each person's forehead is touched with a feather dipped in the blood. Third,

243 796 the ruai rumah present and other respected men give a word of admonition to the men on each ruai, telling them to put away any hard feelings for no trouble will be tolerated during the gawai, lest it incur the disfavor of the gods.

243 533 796 Two other activities of moment in connection with the new farming year are "The Song to the Seed" and "The Prayer to Pulang Gana," the god of fertility. "The Song to the Seed" (Nimang Benih) is performed by lemambang ("bards") who sing the praise of the rice seed and adjure it to be fruitful and give life to those who place their trust in it. The lemambang are men with prodigious memories and great skill in the innovation of verse and song, who are employed, nowadays for cash[10] either individually or in teams for major ritual events. Some lemambang are more skilled in one type of song or more suited for one form of gawai 243 than another, and are recruited accordingly. In the Gawai Batu, the 796 782 lemambang begin to nimang benih in the evening and continue until four or five o'clock in the morning when the Sampi ka Pulang Gana ("The Prayer to 243 Pulang Gana) is made, as he and his entourage of gods arrive. The words 782 539 of the prayer beseech the gods for a good yield:

> "I command, I call, you Pulang Gana, Anda Mara,
> God of our grandparents, God of our parents!
> Visit altogether, advance altogether.
> Therefore, I bow, I make obeisance to you
> with offerings.

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[435] [10]The going rate is an average of ten dollars plus travel expenses for the individual lemambang for a Gawai Batu.

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For that reason, let the gods from the earth arise,
from the rich soil lift up their waists.
Let those from the skies lift up their necks.

Bring cakes, medicine, magical stones and boar's
tusks to shape the land and make it fertile.

Therefore, bring the stone of inexhaustibility to
use in storing and change scarcity into surplus.
Therefore, bring the rice stone to use in worshipping
the incoming tides.

That we may farm without weariness, cut the under-
growth and find magical rice.

That we may head-hunt with no feeling of fatigue,
receiving strength to fish with derris and strike
the head of the rice-fish.[11]

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The Gawai Batu is climaxed with an act of hepatomancy, in which a ritually prepared pig, whose bristles have been combed (nyugu babi) is

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[11] Text of Sampi ka Pulang Gana:
Aku mesau, aku ngangau, kita Pulang Gana, Anda Mara,
Petara aki, Petara ini, Petara apai, Petara indai!
Bela ngabang, bela mansang.
Nya alai, aku nundok, aku ngensurok, nunggah ading
enggau piring.

Nya alai, petara ari tanah nycu ngangkat punggong,
ari tanah nyugah angkat punggong.
Nya ari langit angkat rekong.

Nai patat, nai ubat, nai batu teruba tumu, nai taring
teruba menching, nai tandok teruba ngempok.

Nya alai, batu jedian bai kena besimpan, mali langkang.
Nya alai, batu asi bai olih nyembah remi ai pasang.
Ngambi kami bumai enda berasai bumai, ngerembang babas
repa tetemu kuyan peta padi.
Kami ngayau enda berasai ngayaul, bulih leka balang
penguji ngambika kami nubai enda berasai nubai,
malu paratan tubai kara tepalu kepala ikan padi.

243 dispatched with a spear. The pig's liver is removed and sliced so that
196 men experienced in augury may study the lines and ventricles and divine
787 the success of the farms.

243 After the gawai, a ritual seeking of the place for farming is
787 observed, to confirm that the site selected in the meeting will be fruit-
ful. The sounds and flights of omen birds are looked for, as well as
[782] any animals or snakes that may be there. If no bad omens are seen or
heard, the site is confirmed with the offerings of eggs, popped rice and
rice cakes, and the killing of a chicken to propitiate (ngenselan) the
earth that will be farmed.

221 The ritual of confirming and propitiating the farm site (panggul),
243 v.f., manggul) is performed near the end of May or the first of June.
Attempts by some leaders to achieve a simultaneous beginning of the
farming year by fixing June 1, when Sarawak Day or Hari Dayak is observed,
as the day for manggul have not been effective, for in only a minority of
houses are people prepared or well enough organized to follow the calendar
[821] in arranging their work. The demise of augury and with it, the tuai burong
and those familiar with the appearance and positions of the Pleiades, Orion,
and Sirius has been accompanied by disparate times for manggul as well as
for other activities and rituals of the farm. And this has been to the
loss of many Ibans, for as Enchul Apai Jimmy of Rumah Gaong, Sengan, a
successful farmer year after year, once said, Enti' kitai deka' bulih
padi, enda' tau' kelalu dulu', enda' tau' kelau dudi ari orang ("If we

221 are to get rice, we can't be much ahead or much behind other people"),
243 for the individual farmer who is early or late will have his crop ravaged by the ubiquitous sparrows. If the rice progresses at about the same rate of growth, among a number of fields, the loss for any one field is less.

By the middle of June, the work of clearing the farm sites is
221 begun. The inaugaration of this work is marked with an offering to pro-
243 tect the workers from injury and so that no bad omen will be perceived
782 requiring them to call off work and move to another site. The offering (piring, v.f. miring) as on most occasions consists of popped rice (rendai), rice cakes, (sentupat, sungki), tobacco (semakau), betel leaves and nuts (pinang,sirih), and eggs (telu'), placed in a basket eight inches square and four inches deep (kelingkang), made of plaited bamboo (buloh) or rattan (ui).

The task of clearing lowland sites near the river banks is much
242 243 easier than clearing virgin jungle or even secondary growth in hilly areas. At Sungai Aup, where the same sites are farmed year after year, clearing is done with sprayers and herbicides. The proximity to Sibu and the availability of cheap transportation has permitted the Ibans at Aup to purchase pack-sprayers and chemical sprays to kill the grasses. Within two days after spraying, the farms are rolled (dibelat) with 55 gallon drums filled with water, pressing the dead grasses and stubble into the soil. Those who do not over-dilute the sprays are assured of a quick

242 wilting of the grasses. Some, however, put too much water with the
243 sprays, practicing a false economy (luki') by other Ibans' own estimates, so that the spraying is not effective and the task of weeding more difficult.

243 412 In most farms land still is cleared with ilok, pitu' and duku', and the cut grasses and stubble left to dry before being fired. The use of these conventional tools is due in part to a greater difficulty of access to the pasar in some cases, with a concomitantly greater cost in the cost of transporting materials. Another reason is that some farms are not cultivated more than two years in succession, then allowed to lie fallow an average of seven years, making clearing more difficult.

228 176 243 A novel development has been made by Tuai Rumah Asun who alternates a 22 acre site at 4½ miles Durin Road between rice and fish. In May, the perong ikan ("fish pond") is drained and sold on the Sibu market. The grass in the pond is sprayed with herbicides and fired when dry, after which wet rice is planted. When the rice comes to head, the pond is dammed and stocked again with fry that grow, feeding on the rice, and are caught when the pond is drained at the beginning of the next farming year.

243 774 [22] Within two days of the full moon in June (keleman sahari dua udah bulan kembong) the rice-beds are planted. The life/death motif noted earlier in the concept of life beginning and ending with rice appears again in the language used for planting the rice-beds. The seed are interred (dikubor, lit., "entombed") that they may rise and give new life

243 to the planters. Sub-species of rice are planted in separate areas in
774 the beds, so that they may be kept apart when transplanted onto the main fields. Traditionally, the various strains of rice could not be mixed because of the semengat padi ("rice souls"), but now a more practical reason given by Ibans is that it is impossible to efficiently
243 mill long-grained rice with that which is shorter-grained. The beds are made on relatively high, well-drained soil that may be some distance from the fields. In Bawang Assan, some farmers make their chemi' in eight foot squares of earth and ash about three inches deep on their ruai, but this practice appears to be peculiar to that area where higher land for starting the seeds is lacking.

243 To this point, men and women may equally participate in the work,
462 except that usually the making of the rice-beds is the task of the women. In the case of families where the husband works elsewhere, for example 25 men from Rumah Nyala, Sungai Aup are employed in Sibu, almost all of the work falls to the wives and parents who may live with them.

243 When the rice shoots are about eight inches high, the sacred padi
788 pun is transplanted and offerings made to be certain that the shoots will
778 be received and grow well in the soil that is strange to them. The ritual, Mpelaboh ka padi Pun, is unfailingly observed and no other strain of rice may be planted until the padi pun has been. After the ritual is observed, no other work is done on the farm that day.

243 When the work of transplanting is commenced, a basketful of rice-shoots is ceremonially placed on a "seat" of split sapling or bamboo [467] (nudok ka sintong). Men may help in carrying the anak padi ("rice children", i.e., seedlings) from the beds to the fields, but the onerous back-bending task of transplanting falls to women and girls. The shoots are taken from the sintong in handfulls and deftly imbedded into a hole gouged by the thumb or by a stick. Spacing varies but on an average the shoots are placed about four inches apart.

243 476 The size of the farms to be planted, the limits of the labor force available in any bilik, and the more pleasant aspect of having friends with whom to talk while working make labor exchange the rule for transplanting as well as for other tasks, such as weeding and harvesting. Enti' basi' enggau berandau, nadai asai lama', nadai asai lelak bekereja ("If there's someone else with whom to talk, the work doesn't seem long and there's no feeling of weariness"), one informant said. A survey of the farms at Rumah Nyala, Sungai Aup, revealed that the smallest was about three-tenths of an acre and the largest just over four acres, with an average of two-and-a-half acres, the size being determined by the demands of the family as well as the labor force available to them.

Labor exchange is arranged by the women involved, and always is based on kinship and friendship. It is based on strict reciprocity, and a close account of days expended on another family's farm and the time [184] owing the laborer's family is kept. Unlike the Ibans of the Sut (Freeman 1955:238), the Ibans who formed the concentrated work of this study

243 provide the food while others work in their fields, and pork, vegetables
496 and other lauk ("food other than rice," upriver, engkayu') are purchased
184 or obtained from the family's resources.

243 The anak padi of each variety of rice is transplanted in rows, and when one strain is completed, a new row is begun for the next. A survey of the farms of Rumah Nyala, Aup, and Rumah Imba, Salim, showed that each farm contained an average of 15 different strains of rice, divided almost equally between those maturing in six months and others [221] requiring only three months for maturation.[12] The six-month varieties are planted between mid-August and the first of September, and the 244 three-month strains by the end of October. A strip of land three feet 243 wide between the three- and six-month varieties is planted with vegetables, the species depending upon the quality and height of the land. Corn (jagong) is interspaced between the strains of rice, and Job's tears (lingkau) on hillocks or raised mounds. Egg-plant (buah terong), pumpkins (buah entekai), and long-beans (retak panjai) are also planted on mounds of earth. Mustard seeds (leka ensabi) and gourd seeds (leka labu') are broadcast (ditabor) over the farm. In some areas where it is impractical to mound up soil, all seeds are broadcast among the rice plants, the rationale being that the plant growth helps with weed control.

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[12] The factor of photo-periodism is important, particularly for full development of the grain. For rice that is planted too late in the year will be imperfectly filled out.

243 The lay-out of Ganai Apai Gaun's farm at Sungai Aup may be taken as representative of wet rice farms in the District, and the names of the strains of rice appear below in their relative parts of his two-and-a-half acre farm.

FIGURE 4

Six-month*	Three-month**
Strains	Strains
Bibong	Melinja
Lassa	Jambi
Gelunut	Bali'
Jagu'	Bungi
Pulut	Limbang
Budang	Passa
	Selimbau

* Planted in August
** Planted in October

Weeding commences as soon as the rice is transplanted and ideally, if necessary, is repeated once or twice according to the weed growth. The importance of weeding is commonly acknowledged, but the attention and time that are given to this onerous and irksome work varies greatly from [462] farm to farm. While weeding is predominantly the work of women, some men do not disdain to stoop to the task. For example, Tuai Rumah Imba once boasted of the cleaniness of his fields as being entirely free of weeds. Nadai kayu' nesai kuan ba' umai kami ("There is no wood (even) the size

243 of my wrist on our farm"), he said, to emphasize how exceptionally beresi and lis ("clean") his fields were. And his yields show the intensity of the work that he, his wife and daughter-in-law put into weeding.

By contrast, the rule rather than the exception in a majority of cases, is a desultory and cursory weeding, once over by women assisted in a minor number of cases by older men. At Rumah Gaong in the year 1970-71, a single weeding was performed by women in 22 out of 30 cases. In one instance, Manang Biga felt inclined to travel to Oya for treatment of patients, leaving his elderly wife of 60 years and young adopted daughter of 13 to carry out the weeding. The wife suffered from arthritis and could not go to the farm, could not carry out the weeding, and the total yield for the year was carried from the field in one gunny sack.

243 433 The casual attitude that is shown to farm-work between planting and harvesting is reflected in the disparate yields. With the exception of Sungai Aup, where one-half of the families are self-sufficient in rice, in the other houses on which concentrated studies were made, only one-tenth of the families had enough rice to last them until the next 243 433 829 harvest. According to the observations and judgement of Tuai Rumah Imba and Enchul Apai Jimmy, the main reason for the failure of families to be at least self-sufficient if not having surpluses is that too much attention is given to other activities, and too little to making the farms produce. Tuai Rumah Imba once said,

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"We farm only two pieces of land, each within ten minutes walk of this house. We go to the farm each day at 7:30 and are back by noon. But we do this regularly, and don't go flitting here and there, hunting, fishing, or tapping jelutong. Some of my anembiak farm this place one year, that place the next, ka ngiga asai ("to see how they feel"), and they have time to hunt and fish- but they don't get enough rice to last through the year. So, I get the fish they catch and part of anything they kill in exchange for my rice. And right now, they are digging my ten-acre fish pond."

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After completion of weeding, the farms are fertilized. The Agriculture Department has encouraged the use of fertilizers by introducing urea, phosphates and various blends and brands of chemical fertilizers to farmers. Small quanitities are given free to participants in the schemes, and the fertilizers are for sale in more than a dozen shops

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in Sibu. The Ibans, who have been quick to recognize the benefits of fertilizing have also discovered, to their regret, that the results of fertilizers are not all unmixed blessings. In the farm year of 1970-71, Ganai Apai Gaun spent almost $200 on fertilizers and labor to assure that his crop would flourish. His rice responded to the fertilizers but to his woe, his neighbors were either reluctant or unable to put out so much on fertilizers. His rice came to ear (murai)earlier than his neighbors and despite his family's continuous day-to-day guarding, sparrows and rats consumed almost half of his crop, according to him.

243 782 Because of the plethora of pests, and in an attempt to cope with them, as soon as the fields are fertilized, the ritual Ngemali Umai ("Making the Farm Taboo") is observed. Offerings similar to those already described are made at the farm, and supplications to the antu chit, antu pipit ("spirits of the rat and sparrow") are made, beseeching them to accept the rice, cakes and eggs and take off to the sea, but leave the farms alone. Following the ritual, no one from the family is allowed to go to the farm for three days. The paths to the farm are marked with a leaf placed in the slot of a stick, to indicate that the farm is taboo, and anyone trespassing onto it is liable to a fine.

243 349 Except in the case of farms located "at the foot of the ladder" (di kaki tangga'), every family has a langkau umai or farm hut where members can stay to guard the rice when it comes to fruit. The langkau is built of split bamboo flooring on bamboo supports, with roof and walls of woven nipa or sago leaves, having an overall size of about twelve square feet. There are no divisions in the langkau and the single door opens directly onto an uncovered porch which commands a view of the rice-field.

243 224 The decimation of the animal population that has accompanied the clearing of forests in the District has reduced greatly the problem of losses due to wild pigs and deer, but occasionally such animals do small damage to the new rice and give a welcomed opportunity to mount a hunt-which almost always proves unsuccessful but provides an outing for the men and boys.

243 242 More serious threats to the rice crops are posed by insects, particularly bengas (leaf and plant hoppers), empangau rungkup (black shield bug), ulat giling (leaf folder), and pasak (stem-borer). Sprays and poisons help to control such pests but a constant vigil must be kept, and occasionally Ibans complain of the loss of their entire crops to [825] these insects. Other insects such as locusts (buntak rusa'), crickets (buntak antu), and grasshoppers (buntak) are gathered by small children and roasted over an open fire.

243 Birds and rats are the other major threats to rice crops in the District, and the damage they may wreak stress the importance of an isochronic fruiting of the rice. For, unless a number of fields come to fruit at about the same time, the predators will concentrate on those crops that fruit either earlier or later than the majority, upon which they will spread themselves out.[13] To protect the rice against these [224] pests numerous devices are employed. Men build traps, such as the tinja', "a spring-pole snare with a tread-board and key-stick' (Freeman 1955:199) and panjok, another type of spring-trap, for catching birds. Young children smear bird-lime (sempulut) on sticks which are secured to the ground or a shrub to catch birds which alight on the gummy bird-lime.

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[13] In one noteworthy attempt at double-cropping, and agronomist at Nanga Mujong, Batang Balleh, found that it is possible to farm twice a year, but only if everyone does it, so that the sparrows eat here and there and don't concentrate on one or two fields.

243 As the rice plants burst into fruit, sparrows (pipit) and rats (chit) especially are attracted to the milky, immature grain, and every effort is made to drive the predators away. The most common attempts consist of hanging bits of mirrors, tins with sticks attached as clappers, and lengths of bamboo with hardwood clappers, all with heavy strings tied and leading to the open porch of the langkau so that the guardians can set the mirrors aflashing and the clappers astriking to frighten away the sparrows, rats and other animals.

Despite all of the magic on which the Ibans call, their supplications to pests and predators alike in Ngemali Umai, and the employing of sprays, traps, sounds and lights, an amount of each year's crop is lost to insects, birds and animals. Freeman's word of warning, that

> "among themselves the Iban are greatly given to hyperbole, so that the complaint: 'Ambis padi aku laban babi' ('All of my padi has been destroyed by pigs'), means that a patch a few square yards in area has been trodden down."

Ganai Apai Gaun, who alleged that he had lost half of his rice crop to sparrows and rats, has had a sufficient crop every year for the [731] past five years. Following the unseasonable floods in August, 1971, he complained that all of his shoots rotted under the standing water, and while he lost some plants, his crop this years promises to do well. Despite these losses, he had to buy rice for only two months before harvest.

243 154 The reasons for exaggeration due to losses from pests and predators are numerous. It permits inefficient farmers to save face. It prevents

243 disappointment if the harvest does not come up to expectation. It
154 protects the remainder of the crop from the dangers of reprisal from
offended spirits, or from compliments from a person who can put a curse
or hex on a crop, causing it to wither and die simply by commenting,
[65] "Uh, you have a good crop this year, eh?". A new reason for hyperbolical
statements of losses has been provided by the Welfare Department which
began making grants of rice to longhouses in which people had run out
before the harvest. If officials in that Department were convinced that
members of a community were in need, a grant was made; hence, the need
to be convincing and exaggerative.[14]

Lest the wrong impression be conveyed, in sixty-four per cent of
243 433 the cases in the concentrated study, it was necessary to buy rice or to
exchange labor or goods for it within the longhouse. But, in no single
case could the cause be laid to pests alone.

[221] The period from late January to early March is known as bulan
maya gantong sendok ("the months when the ladle hangs (empty)"), and
supplies of rice in a majority of cases run out. The Ibans then must buy
000 from their fellows who have surpluses, or from Chinese traders. At Rumah
Cacong, members of twenty families provided labor for Enchul Apai Jimmy

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[14] The attitude expressed by some Ibans, but by no means all,
has been, "If someone else is getting rice, I'm going to get some as
well, for I pay taxes, too."

At Rumah Gaong, members of twenty families provided labor for Enchus Apai Jimmy at a rate of M$2 per day, clearing undergrowth from his rubber gardens and planting pepper. Enchul not only has had a surplus of rice every year since coming to Rumah Gaong, where he married, but he has maximized this advantage by providing rice in exchange for the labors of other members of the longhouse, or providing them with goods from the shop-house he has run off his tanju' with success for more than fifteen years. In his case as in that of other Iban entrepreneurs, success in rice cultivation is a sine qua non for accumulation of wealth and rise to power. For the man who grows enough rice and to spare is freed from the necessity of buying or working for his basic food, and can invest his time and surplus in acquisition of still other productive means. We have noted already the rewards that Tuai Rumah Imba was able to enjoy from his surpluses, supplying rice to his anembiak who dug his fish-pond.

At Rumah Nyala, Sungai Aup, only sixteen of thirty-three families were not self-sufficient from one harvest to the next. The Government's scheme projects have shown marked increases where soil and water conditions are amenable to rice cultivation, and where instructions and work have been carefully implemented. For example, at Rumah Sungai Melangan, Batang Leba'an, yields for the past three years have each been adequate for two years supply of food.

As the rice comes to maturity (nyau mansau), an air of excitement and eager anticipation marks the behavior of the whole community. Even

243 those with surpluses of rice look forward to tasting the new rice (asi' baru), sweet smelling (bau rengut) with a bouquet much like that of freshly popped corn.

243 788 Harvesting begins with the ritual Matah Padi, which is observed so that the samengat padi will not be surprised but gradually made aware of the harvest. On the morning when Matah Padi is to be observed a minimum of three and maximum of seven panicles of rice are tied together with red thread and after an admonition to the samengat padi not to take offense and a prayer that the harvest may not be wasteful, the panicles are cut with the harvesting knife (ketap). The family and friends then return to the longhouse for cakes and tuak or other refreshments.

The day following Matah Padi, harvesting begins, men as well as women helping in the work. The task of harvesting is performed ritually following the pattern of enda' ngindu'/ngindu' or alternating strips between reapers. Beginning at the edge of the field, one man or woman reaps straight along the border (enda' ngindu') and to the right a woman harvests parallel to the first strip (ngindu'). The pace is set by the latter reaper, and when she has finished the pair move down to harvest the next parallel strips. The pattern of ngindu' or harvesting in strips is prescribed so that the reaping will not be hurried, the pace being set by the woman (indu') in order to assure that the seed will be fecund (ngindu').[15]

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[15] Indu' also has the connotation of "basic, essential."

243 On the final day of harvest, a small section of the field is
788 reserved for cutting the next morning. On that last morning the family workers early take an offering to the final stand of rice, and after a prayer to the rice soul to go with them, the last panicles are cut and carefully covered with a piece of cloth. This ritual, Mgelechut ka Padi, is performed to insure that the semengat padi will return to the longhouse with the rice, and not be left in the ground.

243 The newly harvested rice is stored temporarily in the langkau or,
[178] if the house is close by, carried immediately to the longhouse. Although
[285] the traditional carrying basket (lanji') is still used for transporting the rice, it rapidly is giving way to gunny-sacks (guni) which have the advantages of being cheap (M$.40 each), taking no time to make as the baskets do, and being useful for storing rice in excess to space available in the bark-bins (tibang).

243 After the padi has been received ceremonially into the house,
574 preparations are made for threshing (tungku', v.f., nungku'). On the day that the threshing begins, the family serves rice cakes, drinks and whatever other food they may be able to furnish. All members of the community are invited (dipadah ka) and a festive air fills the house.

243 The padi is emptied from the lanji' or guni into a heap on the
285 ruai, from which about a bushel at a time is taken and placed into a tikai senggang, a mat made of large fibers and proscribed for any activity

243 285 other than that of threshing the padi. When I asked on several occasions whether the tikai senggang could be used for any other purpose, the Ibans replied emphatically that it could not, for it would offend the asengat padi.

> ". . . Grasping a loose bark-cloth strap in each hand to gain support and purchase, (the thresher) commences to tread the panicles (tangkai). The action is a vigorous one, the outer panciles being forced down on to the mat and kneaded with the bare soles of the feet. They are gathered up again with the instep and inner surface of the foot and ankle, to be trampled once more. In this way the grain (still in the hull, of course) is gradually separated from the branches of the panicles. The first treading of a bushel of panicles takes about seven to nine minutes - the time varying with the degree of ripeness at reaping."

462 476 Threshing is usually done by men, although in the absence of male workers women do it. If labor-exchange has been arranged for other activities, such as planting and weeding, it is usual for the group to continue through together and to share in threshing.

After the first threshing, in which many grains are loosened, women squatting to the sides of the tikai senggang lift the panicles (now called ruman) and sift any free grains through their fingers onto the mat. The panicles then are gathered up again for a second threshing by foot.

243 177 178 Although the Ibans are aware of and acknowledge the quicker methods of the Chinese who harvest padi with a long-knife, grasping a dozen or more stalks at once and cutting them off about 15 inches from

243 the panicles, then flailing the heads over the boards of a specially
177 constructed container, they say that they dare not follow these techni-
178 ques which they consider coarse (kasar) for fear that they would offend
the semengat padi.

243 As the padi is threshed, it is spread on a bidai, a large mat
251 used especailly for drying (kerekai) the padi on the family's tanju'.
285 The padi is poured onto the bidai and raked with a wooden-bladed rake to
a depth of about one inch. Lengths of bamboo or thin saplings up to
twelve feet long are extended from the windows opening onto the tanju'
so that hungary chickens can be driven away by a swing of the bamboo
or wood. Ideally, the padi will be dried for a full day to assure that
it will not turn moldy (bekuap) in storage. The first drops of a shower
send men and women alike scurrying to cover the padi or to bring it into
the house in case of a hard rain.

243 After the padi is dried, it is returned to the rusi and covered
by folding the corners of the bidai over it. On a hot and windless day,
the padi is winnowed. The bidai is opened and the padi transferred to a
series of baka', circular baskets made of plaited rattan averaging about
one bushel in capacity. The baka' full of padi are taken one by one to
the tanju' where the winnowing is done. The bearer tilts the baka'
slightly allowing a steady stream of padi to pour over the lip into the
[462] tikai sengyang which have been spread to receive the padi. As one
person pours (beruyar) the padi, one to three women fan (muput) winnowing-

243 trays (chapan) rapidly up and down, blowing the empty husks (ampa') away.
[462] As the padi collects on the tikai it is returned to the bidai to await the final storing.

The storing of the padi is done in the evening of the first full
243 moon (bulan kembong) after the harvest, and requires about three hours.
251 [221] The storage is an event of moment, for the sufficiency of the padi until the next harvest depends upon a proper storing. If the padi is handled carelessly or without respect, it will be offended and diminish far more rapidly than it should. If it is handled with reverence, it magically will increase in storage.

[554] The senior active woman in the bilik does the actual storing, receiving the padi as it is passed up from the bilik either in baka' or
[182] half coconut husks (tachu'). As in all major stages of the farm year, storage is observed with offerings (piring), consisting of the items already described. The woman in charge enlists the help of other men in the longhouse to aid in stamping the padi down into the tibang, to
[784] insure that it will not be wasted. The husband or male members of the bilik storing cannot be engaged in this because of the sexual relations obtaining between him and the woman in charge. The padi is poured into the tibang, which measures about five feet in diameter by three feet in depth, until the two or three owned by the family are filled, and surplus rice is stored in guni which may be stored alongside the tibang in the sadau, or lined up against the wall of the bilik.

243 796 [782] After all the families in the longhouse have completed the storage of their padi, one final festival, Musi Ansang, Musi Miang ("Throwing Off the Padi Dust") is observed. Offerings are made to the gods and spirits, and tuak, rice cakes and other food shared. The purpose of this festival is to denote the completion of all the farm work for another year, and to demonstrate that the people no longer are handling rice (badu' megai padi ka sataun nya'), so that the miang or irritants from the padi don't cling to the workers and they don't become sick (ngambika miang enda' malut kitai agi', lalu kitai enda' sakit).

243 [788] After the tibang has been closed, it cannot be opened until the next waxing of the moon, for to do so would invite a magical loss of the padi. When the tibang is opened, popped rice (rendai) is scattered over the padi to insure the favor of the semengat padi. The principal woman worker in the bilik then takes a tachu' and gently gathers (ngempuru') the padi that is to be removed. Removing the padi in the tachu' she transfers it to a baka' to be taken down from the sadau for husking.

407 The conventional technique for husking padi is with a two-piece, wooden mill (kisar, v.f. ngisar), into which the padi is poured at the top and falls through a hole onto notched grooves of the lower section. Holding a handle on either side of the upper section, the woman twists the mill back and forth so that the husks are separated as they are forced over the notches of the grooves.

407 Many longhouse communities have access to gasoline-driven rice-
mills, usually the property of one individual who mills the rice of
[435] other members of the community for a price. For example, at Rumah Gaong, Enchul Apai Jimmy has operated a mill for about ten years, charging M$1.00 per pikul of padi milled. At Rumah Nyala, the Tuai Rumah has a mill and charges M$1.30 per pikul.

3. Division of Labor and Returns

243 462 In the past and at present, a principal portion of farm-work has fallen to women. In areas where shifting cultivation still is practiced, men help with felling trees and clearing the farms at the beginning of the year, and carry the baskets of rice from the fields to the house at the end of the harvest. But the other tasks generally fall to women.

[412] In wet-rice cultivation, men may help spray fields with herbicides where this technique is used, and also share in the hot and onerous job of preparing the soil by chopping it with a pito, a single-edged blade on a three-and-a-half foot handle. Men also help by rolling the fields where the use of drums has been adopted. But the other work of transplanting and weeding are the lot of women.

243 The time that is spent in farming varies considerably from family
[433] to family, according to the size of the labor-force and the farm they cultivate. Similarly, the returns vary according to the thoroughness of the workers, the quality of the soil, and the use of fertilizers.

243 According to the studies of some agriculturalists whose conclusions are 242 supported by many Iban farmers, continuous cultivation and fertilization of some types of local soil, far from making the soil infertile and resulting in diminishing yields, rather makes it more fertile with increased yields.

In Table 16, the division of labor for wet-rice cultivation at 243 461 Rumah Nyala, Sungai Aup, is presented together with the average number 462 of man-days per acre in the various activities of farming. The man-days represent an average of the time spent by five families. The days for tasks such as building the farmhouse, weaving, winnowing and storing are pro-rated according to acreage and number of persons involved.

The day at the farm generally is long, workers "going down" (turun) before daylight and not uncommonly returning at sundown. The average work-day is approximately ten hours. Multiplying the average number of man-days by the average work-day, the average number of man-[433] hours invested per acre is 700. At Rumah Nyala, the average yield of padi was 1,106 catties (11.06 piculs) per acre, or about 830 catties of husked rice, which is considerably above the average yield of most other communities in the District.[16]

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[16] The average yield per acre for Rumah Gaong, Sengan, Rumah Imba and Nyelang, Salim was 5.8 piculs per acre or about one-half that of Rumah Nyala in 1970-71.

TABLE 16

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Division of Labor and Man-Days per Acre

Types of Work	Men	Women	Man-Days
Preparing the seed-bed	X	X	1
Clearing and burning	X	X	7
Cultivating the soil	X	X	14
Building Farmhouse	X		2
Transplanting	x	X	7
Weeding and fertilizing		X	14
[285] Weaving mats, winnowing baskets and seed baskets		X	2
Harvesting and transporting	X	X	17
Threshing	X	X	2
Drying		X	2
Winnowing		X	1
Storage	x	X	1
	Total No. Man-Days:		70

x = minor role
X = major role

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Calculating on the basis of the going price of M$2.20 per gantang (six catties) for Iban rice in the pasar, the total value per average acre was M$304.15, making the rate of return about M$ .43 per hour invested in padi cultivation.

465 Although this rate is below that paid for some types of work, such as laborer with an established construction company, it is well above the amount that an individual can earn tapping rubber at present prices or working as a laborer for a fellow Iban in most communities.[17] Although as we have mentioned, padi cultivation is a ritual activity among the Iban, it also is an economic enterprise. And, while most Ibans do not calcualte their returns as above, they are nonetheless aware of the relative rewards derived from padi cultivation and other activities.

243 464 The shift to wet-rice cultivation, obviating the necessity of men felling large trees and clearing new farms has freed them to seek other employment to supplement their family's food supply and income. We have noted that only 36 per cent of those families surveyed were self-sufficient in rice, the remainder having to buy or exchange labor for what they lacked. The combination of freedom from clearing new fields and the necessity of adding to their farms' yields have contributed to many men seeking work either in the pasar or wherever it can be found. In Table 17, the economic activities including agriculture and other occupations are presented for the longhouse community of Rumah Nyala.

243 461 One further note must be added about farming and young people. Padi cultivation is by the admission of most Ibans hard and sometimes painful work. Though the rewards of wet-rice cultivation are relatively

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[17] The going rate for laborers, other than for clearing and cultivating farmlands, is about M$2.00 per day.

243 greater than those of hill-rice, yet each form has its peculiar diffi-
461 culties. Men and women who have spent days cultivating the soil (mito) complain of the intense pain through the chest and shoulders this work brings. Withstanding the elements, sun and rain (laban panas ujan) also
[464] elicits complaints. It should not be surprising, therefore, that many young people - and older ones, too - are disinclined to endure the rigors of farming, which offer relatively small if not uncertain rewards, and look for any opportunity to find other employment wherever it may be obtained.

B. Collecting and Fishing

222 Next to rice cultivation and wage-earning, the next most important
226 forms of Iban adaptation in this District are collecting and fishing. We have discussed the importance of rubber as one of the economic bases of Sibu, but when prices drop, tapping stops. Similarly, attention to pepper gardening varies with the market. Collecting and fishing, however, are generally universal and consistent activities through which the Ibans acquire foodstuffs and marketable goods.

Collecting

Iban adat provides that anyone may eat the fruit of another
222 [671] person's tree at the tree, but it is a violation subject to fine to re-
[432] move or take fruit away from the place. The various species of fruit are gathered in season and sometimes sold to Chinese vendors or, more frequently of late, sold by Iban collectors, either men or women, on the streets.

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ANNEX II

ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

Agricultural and Other Occupations
Rumah Nyala
Sungai Aup
1970-1971

Bilik Number	Husband	Farm Workers: Wife	Son	Daughter	Exchange Labor	Hired Workers	Size Farm*	Yield Rice**	Sufficiency	Members Employed in Other Occupations
1.	Luang	Bacha		Seti			2	14	100%	Dana (brickyard) Karum (construction) Berawang (timber) Dundang (teacher) Marang (police)
2.		Ijah					1.5	26.6	100%	Stanley (Field Force)
3.	Achong	Inya		Dora	Nunsong*** Gambus Lipah Linda		2.5	18.2	50%	Achong (SESCO) Dagang (Rangers) Baring (movie projectionist)
4.	Liang	Sangan					1.5	24.4	100%	Lengang (teacher) Langgai (Field Force)
5.	Ganai	Nunsong			***	Puyang Rosa Sebah	2	14	50%	Ganai (gardener) Gaun (teacher) Asun (Radio Malaysia)
6.	Beji						2	14	100%	
7.		Mayah	Noal				.6	5.6	100%	Noel (minister)
8.	Kudi (cripple, supported by brother, Pangarah Chundi ak Pengulu Rasa)									
9.	Anding	Sumai					1.5	28	100%	Anding (custodian) Kunding (Field Force)
10.	Ambas	Lipah			***		1.5	26.6	100%	Ambas (gardener) Suda (home demonstrator)
11.	Janti	Sari			****		1	15.4	100%	Linus (Commando)
12.	Gelau	Gambus			***		1.5	18.2	100%	Minggu (Rangers)

*"Size Farm" in acres

**"Yield Rice" in piculs, 100 catties (133 1/3 pounds)

***Dora, Nunsong, Gambus, Lipah and Linda exchanged labor in every major farming activity, i.e., transplanting, weeding, harvesting, threshing and winnowing, all on basis of kinship.

****Sari and Nunsong exchanged labor for weeding only.

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TABLE 17 (Cont'd)

Bilik Number	Husband	Farm Wife	Workers Son	Daughter	Exchange Labor	Hired Workers	Size Farm*	Yield Rice**	Suffi-ciency	Members Employed in Other Occupations
28.	Umang	Dijah					1.5	14	80%	Umang (cook)
29.	Julia						.3	2.8	30%	Julia (part-time, Sibu)
30.	Eli	Epet					1.5	18.2	100%	Kuna (teacher)
										Jacky (construction, Brunei)
31.	Megong			Rosita			1.5	11.2	40%	Rosita (part-time, Sibu)
32.		Ajik	Limbai				.5	5.6	60%	Jarup (Rangers)
33.	Jerading	Demon					2.5	28	100%	Mulia (construction, Brunei)
										Mustapha (Rangers)
										Saka (timber, Indonesia)

000 those things commonly needed. For example, one of the skills that is
868 expected of all young men is proficiency in the use of knife and axe.
412 Iban children begin to handle knives at age three or four so that, by late childhood, they are able to perform the multiplicity of tasks with the use of a knife. Similarly, they must learn to use the axe for felling trees and chopping firewood. Commenting on his refusal to return to his long-house during school holidays, a secondary school boy said,

> "I have been away from my house at school since age nine. When I went back one time, my parents asked me to chop firewood. When I tried, the girls laughed at me because I didn't know how. I'll never go back again, except for a day or two."

867 Enculturation occurs not only by example but also by word, and
538 aphorisms, proverbs and myths abound to impress upon the Iban his culture's
539 grammar of values. Success in farming is considered in part due to providence, but the Iban recognize that it requires an equal part of hard work, as expressed in the following proverb:

Satibang, dua tibang,	One rice bin, two rice bins,
Batu Kenyalang.	(Even) a hornbill stone.
Enti' enda' turun nyerang	If you don't go to attack
Enda' ga' numbang ka tiang,	you won't fell the post,
jangka lelaki.	perhaps you are a man.
Sapemansai dua pemansai,	One fish basket or two,
Batu Channai.	(Even) a magical whetstone.
Enti' enda' turun ka umai	If you don't go to your farm
Enda' ga' bulih padi.	You won't get rice.

183 In summary, one basic aspect of this most fundamental value of
● 243 self-sufficiency is the ability to get enough padi so that other bilik-
[868] families won't have to provide this basic food. Accompanying this is an

emphasis upon development of those skills and knowledge which enable males and females to perform productively in the family and community. The family whose members are successful in the food quest enjoys a reputation and respect not accorded to those who, through misfortune, ineptness or indolence, never have enough rice and other food. Similarly, longhouse communities which maintain a relatively high degree of self-sufficiency in food are more respected than those in annual want. Thus, in discussing those houses that had been provided rice by the Social Welfare Department, Ambas anak Irang of Rumah Nyala said,

> "We at Aup haven't applied for rice in the past, and though our tuai rumah has asked for it this year because some of the families are out of rice, I told my wife not to put our names in - I refuse to sell my name for rice (aku enggai nyual nama diri' ngulih ka berau)."[2]

There is a tendency for casual observers to lump entire communities together and to deal in stereotypes.[3] Yet, within every longhouse community there are differences in abilities and persistence that are revealed in this

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[2]Subsequent to Ambas' statement, Tuai Rumah Nyala obtained rice from Welfare for members of his house. Of this Ambas said, "We didn't ask for it, but if it's for the house, then we will get our share. For, this is like being in a longboat together: if all row you go ahead, but if you sink, you go down together."

[3]There is a certain amount of truth in such stereotypes, and some communities are richer, others poorer. But within the same community, almost always there are disparate degrees of prosperity.

We have seen that less than one half the bilik-families have enough rice to last them from one harvest until the next, and must supplement their own production with sago, rice purchased from the sale of produce or from wages, or grants from the Welfare Department. Again, not all men show the aggressive drives manifest in Keling, and personality types ranges from the strong, dominant male who is quite self-assured, to the manang bali', the transvestite who, with confused sex-role identity, escapes unbearable conflict through assumption of the healer's role.[5]

The ideal of self-sufficiency, with strong emphases upon independence, skill, courage, persistence and adventure, has been the norm by which individual performances have been measured. Consequently, while Iban society may in one sense be described as egalitarian, as we will discuss in the next section of this chapter, it also is highly competitive, and from the early history of Iban predations until the present, many members strive to get ahead of their fellows.

Judged by the scale of self-sufficiency, traditional Iban society was divided into three classes. At the highest level were those members who were able to farm successfully, achieving thereby an independence from others and a reputation for good standing with the gods. If a fortuitous

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[5] The Iban shaman or manang does not seek acts of bravery (ukai nuju pemerani), yet, in an interesting bit of irony, after his ordination, (bebangun) it is he who enjoins in battle the fears of other members of Iban society as projected in antu and incubus (buyu').

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602 As we have noted about three-quarters of the bilik-families of Rumah Nyala are related through cognatic ties. Within the community, members identify more closely and participate more frequently in activities with kinsmen than with non-kinsmen, intensity of identification and frequency of interaction being almost proportionate to degree of kinship. Thus, kinsmen take pride or shame from one another's actions and achievements. For example, when the community began the new longhouse in 1956, Apai Gaun urged his brother, Machau, to join him in collecting materials (ramu') for the construction of units in the new house.

> "I told him," said Apai Gaun, "that our family had never lived in a pelaboh and that I didn't intend to now. I told him that if he couldn't afford to have a carpenter put up his section, and he didn't know how, that I would help him, because I had worked as a carpenter. He didn't want to, so he built a pelaboh and I attached my section to the longhouse."

[152] Apai Gaun admitted that he felt rather ashamed because his brother had not built onto the longhouse, the implication being the Machau's failure to do so was a loss of face to Apai Gaun as well as to himself.

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476 Rice cultivation is both a cooperative and a competitive activity. For families with an insufficient labor force, recruitment of members from other families in either labor-exchange (bedurok) or for wages (ngaji) is imperative. Festive events throughout the farming year are held cooperatively, such as the Gawai Batu and Mremali Unai. But rice cultivation also is highly competitive. When families decide upon the size of their farm, they consider not only their needs, the amount and quality of land to be

243 476 farmed, and the labor force available to them, but also the size of their neighbor's farms, and the anticipated relative yields. Competition is keen in the length of the work-days workers put at their farms, keen competitors striving to leave earlier and return later than others. Talking about the painful task of cultivating the soil (mito), Dinah Indai Ellen of Batu Burak recounted how that,

> "last year (1971), I farmed one acre next to a Chinese neighbor. We both went down to the farm at about daybreak. By three in the afternoon, I was tired and ready to return, but I refused because my neighbor was still working. I said to myself, 'Later, my friend, you'll get a taste of it' (Legi' nuan ngensepi', uai). At five, she quit, and I worked on for half-an-hour to show her that I could."

When rice is harvested, families with large yields thrill to the full tibang and guni, recounting the labor, skill and good luck which resulted in the demonstrable fruit of their superiority. Families who didn't [777] do as well attribute their smaller yields and losses to bad luck.

484 554 The institution of pejalai has provided legitimacy for (or created) the wanderlust of Iban young men, who have gained knowledge, experience, and exploitable contacts through their travels. Occasionally, young men travel in groups, but the acquisition of goods and lore is done individually. As important as the travels are, men try to exceed one another in bringing back treasures from their trips. They attempt to accumulate as much money and other valuables, such as sewing machines and outboard motors, as possible, not only for their utilitarian values but also for show and for the acclaim that such things will bring them. One of the most cutting

small returns on rubber and other cash crops; and the problem of maintaining security in such a vast jungle as the Third Division;[5] and finally because of the perceived rewards in the pasar, we may expect that even more Ibans will move into Sibu and other pasars because of the multiplex of factors which exert push-and-pull influences upon them.

Although Rumah Nyala is representative of many of the longhouses in the Sibu District with increasing rice yields because of participation in Government schemes and through improved techniques of horticulture, yet it and the other houses that are largely self-sufficient in rice are in stark contrast to a majority of the other houses in the Third Division.[6] For example, in the hillier regions[7] of the Song and Kapit Districts, the family that is able to produce enough rice to last from one harvest to the next is exceptional. Because of poor burns and the 1971 floods, some longhouse communities exhausted their meager rice supplies six to eight months before the harvest. In such cases, the families have been dependent upon Welfare packages, rice which they have been able to purchase from the sale of rubber and other products, or have been reduced to eating sago.

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[5] The Third Division has been made a special security area (Sarawak Tribune, 26 March, 1972) and the possibility of regrouping of longhouses (Sarawak Tribune, 27 March, 1972) has been mentioned.

[6] It is to be recalled that even in our sample in the Sibu District where production is among the best in Sarawak, only 36 per cent of the Ibans produce enough rice for an entire year.

[7] Much of the upriver area is so hilly that terracing is impossible, and flat land for planting wet rice is minimal.

light of ecological and structural changes that have occurred. Ibans traditionally had practiced shifting cultivation to which the institutions of pejalai, augury and head-hunting were related. Those who settled for whatever reasons near the fort found themselves in a situation of impeded mobility,[1] and required to undertake new forms of adaptation.

Ecologically, the settlement of Ibans in the District required a shift from dry-rice to wet-rice cultivation among those who settled on the banks of the major rivers. Alternatively, they could farm hill-rice at some distance from their homes. The shift to wet-rice cultivation was an adaptation to the flatter lands and higher water table. New techniques for cultivation of wet-rice fields were learned and were accompanied by the development of a new liturgy suitable for wet-rice cultivation.[2]

Sedentariness and proximity to the town have provided opportunities for the development of new techniques and cultivation. The examples of Chinese and instruction of agriculturalists have helped raise the yields of Iban rice fields. The introduction of pack-sprayers and selective herbicides together with other aid contributed by the Agricultural Department have helped to strengthen the dependence of the Iban farmer upon the pasar.

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[1] Movements continued within the District, but these were involved primarily with the spread of Ibans along the banks of the large rivers or the ascent of their tributaries. Impeded mobility resulted from Government regulations and from the immigration of Chinese settlers.

[2] Comparisons of rituals observed by Ibans practicing dry-rice cultivation and those practicing wet-rice cultivation reveal numerous differences.

000 "Cultivation of rice in the Rejang" (SG 2 June, 1919)

According to an agreement made by the late Rajah with Mr. Wong Nai Siong, a Foo-Chow colony was established on the Rejang in 1901, "for the purpose of cultivating rice and vegetables" (See Agreement, Art, 1). There is an impression abroad that these colonists never made an honest effort to plant rice. This is a mistake.

1. The first year they all planted rice at Seduan on the Sungai Merah, but they used rice they had brought from China, and being seed adapted to a colder climate it matured too soon. When the stalks were only a foot high, it began to head, the heads did not mature, and the crop was not worth harvesting.

2. The second year they tried again planting two crops. The first crop was a failure because it was planted too early in the season to make way for the seond crop, the second brought nothing principally because of the birds which concentrated on it, being the only rice in the neighborhood.

[243] 3. The third year they tried the Dyak method of just cutting and burning without cultivating (as in former years they had done in China, and expended much time and labour). As might be expected, this failed completely.

4. The fourth year they were so discouraged and homesick that they refused to plant, and lived almost entirely at the expense of the proprietor. This soon brought him to bankruptcy, and the colony on the verge of failure. At this junction the Rajah thought the colony would do